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HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY: A SYLLABUS

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HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY: A SYLLABUS

BY

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REVISED AND ENLARGED



CHAPEL HILL

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PREFATORY NOTE

Some years ago I prepared a brief general syllabus of Hispanic-American history, designed primarily for the use of students at the University of North Carolina. The various editions of this syllabus are now out of date; and, moreover, the supply is exhausted. In the preparation of this new syllabus, I have followed a somewhat more elaborate plan.

I wish to make grateful acknowledgement for the criticism of Dr. James A. Robertson, who read the manuscript, and my colleague, Dr. S. E. Leavitt, Professor of Spanish, who read the proof.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR.

CHAPEL HILL,

April 20, 1926.

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ERRATA

1. P. 11, line 16, "(Knopf, 1912)" should read "(Knopf, 1922)"
2. P. 30, line 20, "administraiton" should read "administration"
3. P. 35, line 16, "Maurtua" should be "Maúrtua"
4. P. 37, line 22, "Compañia" should be "Compañía"
5. P. 43, line 23, "Campillo" should be "Campillo y Cosio, J. del"
6. P. 44, line 11, "Rubalcava, J. G. de" should be "Gutiérrez de Rubalcava, J."
7. P. 49, line 6, "Wright, I." should read "Wright, I. A."
8. P. 52, line 14 should read "a. Institutional influences of Spain on Brazil"
9. P. 56, line 6, "United State" should be "United States."
10. P. 58, at beginning of section E, line omitted: "I. In the North, 1809-1822:"
11. P. 68, following line 12, there was omitted: "de Carlos IV; Latimer, E. W., Spain in the Nineteenth." Line 20, "Herrera" should be "Herrera, L. A. de"
12. P. 81, in line 10, "Lopez" should be "López"
13. P. 85, in line 10, "Bernadino" should be "Bernardino"
14. P. 138, line 2 (from bottom), "Monroe Doctrine—and Interpretation" should read "Monroe Doctrine—an Interpretation"

HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORY: A SYLLABUS

INTRODUCTION

In the establishment of the independence of South America the United States have the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country, which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we have had or can have so much at stake.—HENRY CLAY: *The Emancipation of South America*.

The position of Hispanic-American history in our scheme of education is no longer a question of serious debate. This history is today regarded as a standard course in the universities of the United States; it is with growing frequency obtaining a place in the curricula of our colleges; and there is evidence of a disposition to introduce such a course in the larger high schools. No special plea need now be made for its study, although this interest and activity of scholars, teachers, students, and people of the United States have developed only within recent years. Let it suffice, then, for me to record the conviction that this field of history may safely be compared as to importance, interest, and cultural value with those longer established.

Although Hispanic America is relatively less well known than certain European states, few will question its significance to the people of the United States. Some years ago James Bryce ventured the prophecy that the part that the Hispanic-American republics are to play "must henceforth be one of growing significance for the Old World as well as for the New." Elihu Root, after his official visit to South America, said, in 1906, "I believe that no student can help seeing that the twentieth century will be the century of phenomenal development in South America." Both predictions are regarded as conservative and certain of fulfilment. In

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his address to the first Pan American Congress of Journalists, convened in Washington in 1926, President Coolidge said:

In recent years has come a profound realization that the commercial interests of Latin America and the United States have a strong natural bond. Since the World War we have enlarged that interest by vastly increasing our shipping facilities between here and various Latin American ports, by establishing branches of our banks, and by the investment of great amounts of capital. It is estimated that in 1923 United States capital invested in Latin America amounted to \$3,760,000,000; in 1924, a trifle over \$4,000,000,000; and in 1925 was \$4,210,000,000. . . . Figures compiled by our Department of Commerce show that in 1910 our exports to Latin America, including the Guianas and all the West Indies except Porto Rico, amounted to \$279,663,000, and our imports from there amounted to \$408,837,000. Last year the exports were \$882,315,000 and the imports \$1,041,122,000. . . . It may be interesting to compare these 1925 figures with those for our total foreign trade in that year, which were: Exports, \$4,909,396,000; imports, \$4,227,995,000. Thus we see nearly one-fifth of all our exports went to Latin America and practically one-fourth of our imports came from there.

From these considerations and others, those who have given thought to the subject are convinced that the economic, political, diplomatic, intellectual, and social importance of the Hispanic-American countries and peoples renders urgent a thorough study of them and a sympathetic understanding of their history, institutions, languages, literature, and customs.

This syllabus is designed as a guide to the introductory study of Hispanic-American history and civilization. In an effort to provide a comprehensive outline, selection and rejection of data were, of course, necessary. Such work of selection is likely to evoke a difference of opinion among scholars and teachers, since this history has not as yet been given a formalized discipline. The individual predilections of teachers, differences in the degree and character of the local interests in Hispanic America, and the varying needs

and purposes of particular groups of students will, of course, have much to do with the determination as to how the subject shall be taught and as to what should be the content. Variety should be expected since, in the United States aside from a few notable exceptions, the criteria and methods of scientific and critical historiography have been applied to this field only within the last generation. All students of the subject, it is supposed, realize that while our scholars are still in the initial stages of the investigation and exploration of the vast materials existent in archives and libraries, they are beginning to submit interpretations based inductively upon research, and are making us acquainted with the works and conclusions of the great Hispanic-American historians. Critical scholarship has revealed many difficult problems of interpretation, and the experience of teachers has encountered many baffling problems of emphasis and proportion. For instance, there are those who regard the Spanish and Portuguese colonies as emanations of the Hispanic-European countries, who consider the transmission and retention of Spanish and Portuguese civilization the vital factors in Hispanic-American history. On the other hand, there is a view, such as that expressed by a South American writer: "The soul of the South American peoples is not that of the Spain of the *conquistadores*, however much these conquerors may have imposed their language and many of their customs; the ethnic factors—the Indian and the African—have formed a special soul in these peoples."¹ Still others consider the process of colonization—exploration and settlement—frontier life, the differences between imperial control in theory and colonial administration in practice, the modifying influences of the Indian on economic and ethnic conditions to have been vital factors. The obligation to present these views—for they are not mutually exclusive

¹ Pedro M. Arcaya, *Estudios sobre personajes y hechos de la historia venezolana*, 43, (1911).

—as well as other interpretations of Hispanic-American civilization is a problem in organizing an introductory course.

Although it is believed that within limits this guide is flexible, it should be said at the outset that the author has sought to emphasize institutional, social, intellectual, and economic aspects. This object seemed to prescribe the following procedure: the European background should be studied to provide an appreciation of the Iberian spirit, a knowledge of institutions and economic policies and conditions. The process of colonization should be analyzed for types of activity rather than for details of the narrative story. Colonial institutions should be studied as they were designed in the mother country and as, with considerable re-shaping, they were applied and developed in the colonies. Colonial political history, with the chronological narrative sacrificed, is organized topically for analysis of representative policies and practices. The colonial period is regarded as a time of origins and formative influences and is studied for an understanding of the heritage bequeathed to the later period of independence. The method of treating the subject of the struggles for independence will be found on examination to be different. Here it was felt that there is need for the narrative story; and the institutional, cultural, economic, and social factors are given setting in that narrative. To the writer, the movements for independence resolve themselves into certain units of action and thought—as, for example, the revolution in northern South America, that in southern South America, then the coalescence after 1822 of these efforts for independence. These units and others are as such followed through to completion to avoid the confusion of a general chronological treatment which would shift from one to another more or less unrelated battlefield or center of activity. The organization of materials for a study of the period since the attainment of independence has occasioned much trouble to scholars. Are the twenty repub-

lics twenty nations? Omitting Haiti for the moment, are there but two nations—Spanish America and Portuguese America—temporarily divided politically by sectional differentiation? Without attempting an answer to these questions and without making prediction as to what the future may hold in fulfilment of the dream of Hispanic-American union entertained by some, I shall state that, while there are similarities between the several countries and peoples, there are many and important differences. Without doubt, several of the states have an intense spirit of nationalism. All attempts at interstate confederation, for one reason or another have proved temporary, and there is little prospect of early unification. Whatever may be the outcome, a separate treatment of the Hispanic-American states appears to the writer necessary and profitable. It is in no sense intended that this political narrative should degenerate into a dry chronicle. Provision is made in the readings of sources from which can be derived information respecting the civic problems, the transformation of the colonial heritage, the growth of social consciousness, the relation of government to civilization, etc. In the chapters on "Early Political Theories and Republican Institutions" and "Contemporary History, Problems, and Achievements of Hispanic America," however, a generalized survey is made. With respect to international and inter-American relations, the plan was again that of topical analysis.²

Many instructors have experienced difficulty in covering the whole subject within the time limits of a year's course. At the University of North Carolina, where the quarter system obtains, the difficulty is met by offering three courses—one on the colonial period and the struggles for independence, one on the Hispanic South American states, and

² For this idea and plan, I am indebted to the able article of Professor W. R. Shepherd, "The Monroe Doctrine Reconsidered" (*Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, Mar. 1924).

another on Hispanic North American republics. The first is given every year and the others in alternate years.

The writer makes no suggestion as to method. For his students, a brief statement is made: lectures following the outline of the syllabus and explanatory of it and recitations based on assigned readings will constitute the class work. On these lectures and readings the students will be expected to take notes. In addition, they will be required to make certain class reports and at least once during each quarter to prepare, after consultation with the instructor, an essay on some topic of the syllabus or allied phase of the work. The readings listed in the syllabus are, in general, divided into "required" and "additional readings," with the former drawn from works written in English, and the latter from those written in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. To the latter group were added, in the case of a few sections, some important works written in French or German. The minimum requirement is that the student shall read for each section at least one of the "required" readings in addition to the text-book. As to the "additional readings," the student is urged to follow his own interest. It is expected, however, that a record of such readings shall be kept, for which, on submission, credit shall be given. To conserve space, titles of works to be cited repeatedly in the "required readings" are omitted, and the author's name only is given.

The need for text-books in this field has been supplied by the recent publication of two scholarly works—*History of the Latin-American Nations*, (New York. Appleton. Revised Edition, 1925), by W. S. Robertson; and *The Republics of Latin America*, (New York, Harper, 1923), by H. G. James and P. A. Martin. For university and college courses, these are recommended. For briefer courses, *Latin America*, (Vol. 78, Home University Library, Henry Holt), by W. R. Shepherd; or *A History of Latin America*, (Heath, 1924), by Hutton Webster, have been suggested.

For the general reader or for the library beginning its collection, the following list of books, written in English, may be found useful:

FOR DESCRIPTION, GEOGRAPHY, TRAVEL, PEOPLES, AND
SOCIAL CONDITIONS:

- Atlas América Latina* (in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. General Drafting Company. New York. n. d.).
Bingham, H., *Across South America*, (Houghton Mifflin, 1911).
Bland, J. O. P., *Men, Manners, and Morals in South America* (Scribner, 1920).
Bowman, I., *South America*, (Rand, McNally & Co., 1915).
Bryce, James, *South America, Observations and Impressions* (Macmillan, 1913).
Calderón de la Barca, Mde., *Life in Mexico* (Everyman Series, E. P. Dutton & Co., ———).
Church, G. E., *Aborigines of South America* (Chapman and Hall, 1912).
Enock, C. R., *The Republics of Central and South America*, (Dent & Sons, 1913).
Keane, A. H., *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel: Central and South America*, (2 Vols. Lippincott. 2d. ed., 1909-1911).
Reyes, R., *The Two Americas* (Stokes, 1914).
Ross, E. A., *South of Panama* (Century, 1915).
Ruhl, A. B., *The Other Americans*, (Scribner, 1908).
Warshaw, J., *The New Latin America* (Crowell. New York, 1922).

FOR HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS:

- Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Borderlands* (Chronicles of America Series, Yale Press, 1921).
Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America* (American Nation Series, Harper, 1904).

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Chapman, C. E., *History of Spain*, (Macmillan, 1918).

Dawson, T. C., *The South American Republics*, (2 Vols. Putnam, 1903-1904).

García Calderón, F., *Latin America: its Rise and Progress* (Scribner, 1915).

Moses, Bernard, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America* (Putnam, 1898).

———, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*, (Putnam, 1908).

———, *Spanish Dependencies in South America* (Putnam, 1914).

Munro, D. G., *The Five Central American Republics*, (Oxford University Press, 1918).

Paxson, F. L., *The Independence of the South American Republics*, (Ferris and Leach, 1903).

Priestley, H. I., *The Mexican Nation: A History*, (Macmillan, 1923).

Richman, I. B., *The Spanish Conquerors* (Chron. of Amer. Ser., Yale Press, 1921).

Robertson, W. S., *The Rise of the Spanish American Republics*, (Appleton, 1918).

Shepherd, W. R., *The Hispanic Nations of the New World* (Chron. of Amer. Ser., Yale Press, 1921).

FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

Latané, J. H., *The United States and Latin America* (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920).

Martin, P. A., *Latin America and the World War* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1925).

Rippy, J. Fred., *The United States and Mexico* (Knopf, 1926).

Robertson, W. S., *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States*, (Oxford Univer. Press, 1923).

Stuart, G. H., *Latin America and the United States* (Century, 1922).

Scroggs, W. O., *Filibusters and Financiers*, (Macmillan, 1916).

FOR TRADE RELATIONS:

Aughinbaugh, W. E., *Selling Latin America*, (Small, Maynard & Co., 1915).

———, *Advertising for Trade in Latin America*, (Century, 1922).

Collins, J. H., *Straight Business in South America*, (Appleton, 1920).

Filsinger, E. B., *Exporting to Latin America*, (Appleton, 1916).

FOR LITERATURE:

Coester, A., *The Literary History of Spanish America*, (Macmillan, 1916).

Goldberg, I., *Studies in Spanish American Literature*, (Brentano, 1920).

———, *Brazilian Literature* (Knopf, 1912).

FOR BIOGRAPHIES OF CONTEMPORARY HISPANIC-AMERICANS:

The several volumes edited by W. B. Parker and published by the Hispanic Society of America (New York): *Cubans of To-day* (1911); *Peruvians of To-day* (1919); *Chileans of To-day* (1920); *Bolivians of To-day* (1920); *Paraguayans of To-day* (1920); *Argentines of To-day* (2 Vols., 1920); *Uruguayans of To-day* (1921).

FOR INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES:

Denis, P., *Brazil* (Scribner, 1911).

Eder, Phanor J., *Colombia* (Scribner, 1913).

Elliott, G. F. S., *Chile* (Scribner, 1909).

Hirst, W. A., *Argentina* (Scribner, 1910).

James, H. G., *Brazil After a Century of Independence* (Macmillan, 1925).

Koebel, W. H., *Argentina, Past and Present* (Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1911).

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———, *Paraguay*, (Scribner, 1917).

———, *Uruguay*, (Scribner, 1911).

———, *Central America* (Scribner, n. d.).

Scruggs, W. L., *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics*, (Little, Brown & Co., 1910).

Wright, M. R., books on *Bolivia*; *Brazil*; *Chile*; *Peru* (Cazenove & Sons).

The student will find certain periodicals, reviews, journals, and publications of learned societies of assistance. The most useful of these was *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (Baltimore, 1918-1922), soon to be revived, without change of plan. Another of these is *Inter-America* (New York, 1917-), founded by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which publishes in its English edition numerous important articles translated from Hispanic-American sources. The following periodicals contain bibliographical information and occasional articles relative to Hispanic-American history: *The American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-); *American Political Science Review* (Baltimore, 1906-); *American Journal of International Law*, (New York, 1907-); *Current History* published by the New York Times Company; the monthly *Bulletin* and other publications of the Pan American Union (Washington, D. C.); *Foreign Affairs* (New York, 1922-). Lists of periodicals published in Spanish or Portuguese may be in Aughinbaugh, *Advertising for Trade in Latin America* and in the bibliographical note of Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations*.

The readings listed in this syllabus are selected as affording an introduction to Hispanic-American history and civilization. While regarded as sufficiently comprehensive, they are not intended as a bibliography. Students and specialists will find it easy to amplify. Among the bibliographical lists, published in the United States, mention should be made of the careful and useful work of C. K. Jones, *Hispanic-Amer-*

ican Bibliographies (Baltimore, 1922). Goldsmith, P. H., *A Brief Bibliography of the Books in English, Spanish, and Portuguese Relating to the Republics Commonly Called Latin America with Comments*, (Macmillan, 1915). Keniston, H., *List of works for the Study of Hispanic-American History* (Hisp. Society of America, New York, 1920). From time to time since 1907, the Pan American Union has published important lists of historical and descriptive works in the possession of the Columbus Memorial Library. *The Hispanic American Historical Review* and *Inter-America* have bibliographical lists and notes especially serviceable for reference to contemporary production. In the following bibliographical studies on South American literature, made by my colleague Professor S. E. Leavitt, will be found abundant references to historical materials: "Uruguayan Literature" (*Hispania*, Vol. V, 121-132. 1922); "A Bibliography of Peruvian Literature (1821-1919)" (*The Romanic Review*, Vol. XIII, 151-194. 1922); "Chilean Literature; A Bibliography of Literary Criticism, Biography and Literary Controversy" (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, Feb., May, Aug., and Nov., 1922); *Argentine Literature. A Bibliography of Literary Criticism, Biography and Literary Controversy* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1924). Among the many excellent bibliographical works of Hispanic American scholars, attention is directed to the *Biblioteca hispano-americana* (7 Vols., Santiago de Chile. 1898-1907) by José Toribio Medina, distinguished historian, honored everywhere by scholars. Other monumental works of Dr. Medina relate to Chile, Peru, Argentina, and Mexico. Of great service, also, are: Ramón A. Laval's *Bibliografía de bibliografías chilenas* (Santiago de Chile, 1915); Narciso Binayán's *Bibliografía de bibliografías argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1919); and Carlos M. Trelles' *Bibliografía de bibliografías cubanas* (Matanzas, 1911).

NOTES

I

"HISPANIC-AMERICA" AND THE HISPANIC-AMERICANS; THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

A. The Problem of a generic name:

1. Use of the word "American" by the people of the United States; implications involved; opinions of other American peoples as to this monopolization; a fact without the intent of offence.
2. Names proposed and in common usage; "Spanish-American"; "Portuguese-American"; "Latin-American"; "Iberic-American"; and "Hispanic-American."
3. Reasons for and against the adoption of these terms:
 - a. Bases of selection: race, language, religion, culture.
 - b. The ethnic basis:
 - (1) Distribution of Spanish and Portuguese.
 - (2) Distribution of Indians, Negroes and other races.
 - (3) States with a small Indian population, a small Spanish population, a small Negro population.
 - (4) Difficulties in the way of using the ethnic basis.
 - c. The language basis:
 - (1) Spanish, Portuguese, and French as official languages.
 - (2) Should fact that French is spoken as official language of Haiti (which has largely a Negro population) have a determining influence in the selection of a name?
 - d. Author's preference of the term "Hispanic-America."

B. Population distribution in Hispanic America:

Spanish; Portuguese; mixed breeds; Indians; Negroes.

REQUIRED READINGS: Robertson, W. S., *History of Latin American Nations*, 1, 10-35; James, H. G., and P. A. Martin, *The Republics of Latin-America*, "Preface," 24-32.

ADDITIONAL READINGS: Bland, J. O. P., *Men, Manners, and Morals in South America*; Bunge, C. O., *Nuestra América*; Bomfin, M., *A América latina*; Colmo, A., *Los países de la América latina*; Espinosa, A. M., "The Term Latin America" (in *Hispania*, Vol. I, Sept. 1918); Espinoza, J. A., *Regionales descripciones, tipos, costumbres*; Church, G. E., *The Aborigines of South America*; Cooper, C. S., *Brazilians and their Country*; —————, *Understanding South America*; Means, P. A., *Race and Society in the Andean Countries*; Nuttall, Z., *The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilization*; Ugarte, M., *El porvenir de la América española*; Warshaw, J., *The New Latin America*; Whitney, C., *The Flowing Road*.

C. The Land:

1. Geographic situation of Hispanic America:
 - a. Mexico.
 - b. The insular republics.
 - c. Central America.
 - d. South America.
2. Area of the twenty states in comparison with that of the United States and European countries.
3. Geographic factors:
 - a. Climate: seasons; temperature; rainfall.
 - b. Mountain ranges; plateaux; deserts; lowlands.
 - c. Rivers and harbors.
4. Natural resources and their geographic distribution:
 - a. Mineral deposits.
 - b. Forests and forest products; plants.

- c. Animal life.
- d. Vegetable and metallic drugs and medicines.
- 5. Agricultural possibilities. Products in general: fruits, grains, coffee, cacao, yerba mate, sugar, tobacco, rubber, grasses, etc.

REQUIRED READINGS: Robertson, 1-10; Shepherd, W. R., *Latin America*, 107-121; Koebel, W. H., *The South Americans*, 184-304.

ADDITIONAL READINGS: Acevedo Díaz, E., *Geografía de America, física, política y económica*; Allen, N. B., *South America*; Badia Malagrida, C., *El factor geográfico en la política sudamericana*; Bates, H. W., *The Naturalist on the River Amazon*; Bowman, I., *South America*; Darwin, Charles, *Journal of Researches* (voyage of the *Beagle*); Keane, A. H., *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel: Central and South America* (2 vols.); Reclus, E., *The Universal Geography* (vols. XVII and XVIII); Safford, W. E., "Food Plants and Textiles of Ancient America" (*Proceedings of the Second Pan Am. Scientific Congress*); Siewers, W., *Sud- und mittel-Amerika*; Whympers, E., *Travels among the Great Andean Countries*.

EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

A. Spain:

- 1. The land:
 - a. Geographic position with reference to Europe: isolation; advantages for commerce; geographic factors and warfare as to Hispanic peninsula.
 - b. The mountain ranges; rivers; variations in climate.
 - c. Geographic sectionalism; Galicia; the Basque provinces; the Catalanian provinces; Castile and Extremadura; Andalucía; Granada.
 - d. Geography and industry.

2. The people:

- a. Early peoples of Iberic peninsula.
- b. The Phoenician incursions.
- c. The Greek settlements.
- d. Carthaginian colonization.
- e. The Roman conquest and influence on race, law, language, city life, and society.
- f. The Visigothic domination and influence; the *Fuero Juzgo*.
- g. The Mohammedan era, 710-1492:
 - (1) The cultural and religious conflict.
 - (2) Positive and negative influences on language; thought; religion, industry, art, government, and society; Mohammedan civilization.
 - (3) Jews and Gypsies in Spain; anti-Jewish laws and practices.
 - (4) "Oriental character" of Spanish people.
 - (5) The re-conquest; Spanish military spirit.

3. Sectionalism in Spain:

- a. Racial and sectional types: Gallego; Basque; Catalan; Castilian; Andalucian, etc.
- b. Linguistic differences.
- c. The Cities:
 - (1) Historical tendencies and influences which produced the Spanish city of the 15th century.
 - (2) The towns and the re-conquest.
 - (3) The charters (*fueros*) and the municipal governments (*ayuntamientos*); municipal autonomy; types of Spanish city.
 - (4) Royal encroachment on municipal rights; the sending of *corregidores*.
 - (5) The Spanish province.
 - (6) Conservation and perpetuation of sectional peculiarities; political and social particularism.
 - (7) Spanish views of liberty and government.

4. Evolution of the Spanish national state:

- a. Influence of religion, the re-conquest, and language.
- b. Decline of feudalism in certain political respects.
- c. Tendencies toward union; consolidation of petty feudal states in a series of relatively strong monarchies.
- d. Substitution of hereditary for elective system of succession in monarchies.
- e. Formulation of codes of law; the *Siete Partidas*; reduction of powers of the cities.
- f. Political conditions in the 15th century.
- g. Marriage of Ferdinand, of Aragon, and Isabella, of Castile, 1469, and the political unification of Spain.
 - (1) Character and purposes of the Catholic Kings.
 - (2) The governmental organization as perfected: councils; royal agents of control; courts; extraordinary officials.
 - (3) Nationalization of the army; assumption of mastership of the orders of knighthood by the crown.
 - (4) Partial suppression of internal disorder by making law effective; curbing the nobles; the *Santa Hermandad* and the elimination of brigandage.
 - (5) Church and state; the Spanish church and religious spirit; the church under the Catholic Kings; the Inquisition and the enforcement of religious uniformity; the Inquisition and inter-racial mixtures—*limpieza de sangre y linaje*; persecution.
 - (6) Expulsion of non-conformist and heretical elements.
 - (7) Dynastic influences on unification of Spain; reasons why Spain was not re-divided upon deaths of Catholic Kings.

(8) Defeat of the *Comuneros* at the battle of Villalar, 1521; triumph of absolutism.

(9) Partial triumph of Castilian as language of Spain.

5. Industry and agriculture:

a. Land owning; landlords and agricultural laborers; agrarian problems.

b. Industry in the 15th and 16th centuries.

c. Sheep raising and wool gathering; the *mesta*.

d. Commerce—internal and external; the fairs (*ferias*); regulations of trade.

6. Analysis of Spanish character:

a. Family life; sports; faith; music; dances.

b. Faults and virtues.

c. Attitude toward government.

d. Tenacity of race and cultural traits.

7. Spain on the eve of the period of discovery:

a. Spanish energy ready to be released in the work of expansion and colonization.

b. Motives of colonization.

c. Government of re-conquered districts developed some of the institutions later employed in colonial empire.

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Maps: Shepherd, W. R., *Historical Atlas*, 82-83.

B. Portugal:

1. Geography of Portugal.

2. Portuguese nationality :
 - a. Racial factors.
 - b. Cultural and social influences of the Moslems.
 - c. Crusades against the Mohammedans ; their expulsion.
3. The achievement of independence and national statehood :
 - a. The conquest of Algarve.
 - b. Struggles with Castile ; battle of Aljubarrota, 1385.
 - c. Services of the royal house of Aviz.
4. Political and social institutions.
 - a. Powers of the crown and the Portuguese Cortes.
 - b. The government of towns.
 - c. The administrative system.
 - d. Nobility ; the clergy ; agriculture and commerce ; survival of feudal system.
5. Portugal as a European power in the 15th century ; beginnings of expansion.
 - a. The work of Prince Henry the Navigator.
 - b. Early achievements of the Portuguese sailors and explorers in the Azores and along the coast of Africa.
 - c. The successes of Bartholomew Díaz, Vasco da Gama, and Cabral.
6. Motives of expansion.

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Prince Henry the Navigator; Oliveira Martens, J. P., *The Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator*; ———, *Historia de la civilización ibérica*.

C. General:

1. The political situation in Europe at the opening of the 16th century.
2. Scientific and intellectual progress; travels; improvement of nautical instruments.
3. European commerce at the opening of the 16th century.
4. The Commercial Revolution.

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NOTES

II

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

A. Tracing the coast line by Spanish navigators:

1. The achievement of Columbus.
2. Achievements of: Hojeda, Cosa, Vespucci, Pinzón, Piñeda, Bastidas, Grijalva, Magellan and Elcano, Guevara, Saavedra, etc.

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B. Internal exploration and settlement:

1. Achievements of Balboa; Cortés; Pizarro; Almagro; Cabeza de Vaca; Orellana; Ursúa; Mendoza; Ayolas; Irala; Garay, and others.
2. Settlement of the West Indies.
3. Settlement of Mexico and Central America.
4. Settlement of Spanish South America.

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C. Relations of Spain and Portugal during the Sixteenth Century:

1. Political, territorial, and commercial rivalries.
2. The crisis of 1493-1494:
 - a. Obviation of war by appeal to the Pope; the Line of Demarcation, 1493.
 - b. The Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494.
 - c. Disputes respecting the fulfilment of papal and treaty provisions.
3. Spanish-Portuguese jurisdiction in the Pacific Ocean and Far East regions; the Treaty of Zaragoza, 1529.
4. Beginnings of the enlargement of the Portuguese sphere in South America; mid-century relations of Spain and Portugal.
5. Union of Spain and Portugal, 1580-1640; effects upon territorial delimitation in the colonies.
6. Attitude of European states toward Spanish and Portuguese claims of monopoly.
7. New doctrines relative to the control of the seas and the ownership of territory.

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NOTES

III

THE SPANISH COLONIAL SYSTEM

A. Imperial Control:

1. Evolving a colonial system:
 - a. Spanish inexperience in governing over-sea possessions.
 - b. Experience in governing provinces redeemed from Mohammedan control.
 - c. Government relation to the original explorations, early conquests, and first settlements.
 - d. Private enterprise and investment in the conquest.
 - e. The "capitulations"; those of Columbus compared with later ones.
 - f. Rapid evolution of a system; influence of Bishop Fonseca.
 - g. Columbus as original "law-giver" in the Indies.
2. Institutions of imperial control:
 - a. The House of Trade (*Casa de Contratación*, 1503-1790).
 - b. The Council of the Indies:
 - (1) Composition; powers and duties; methods of procedure and administration.
 - (2) Legislative accomplishment: the Laws of the Indies.
 - (3) Decline in power and prestige in the 18th century.
 - c. Ministries of War and Marine; *Junta de Guerra*.
 - d. Eighteenth century changes:
 - (1) The Minister of the Indies, 1714.
 - (2) Ministers of State and Treasury.
 - (3) Councils.

3. The Process of legislation for the colonies :
 - a. Procedure in preparing, drafting, and promulgating resolutions, ordinances, decrees, instructions, laws.
 - b. Representation of colonial interest before Council.
4. Means of enforcement :
 - a. Commissions and instructions.
 - b. Maintenance of a system of checks and balances in colonial civil service.
 - c. Sending of *visitadores* or other special commissions and agents.
 - d. The *residencia*.
 - e. Civil or military punishment.
 - f. Detailed reports demanded of colonial officials.
5. Interference in colonial affairs.
6. Control of emigration :
 - a. Laws of restriction.
 - b. Inducements offered approved settlers.
7. Exclusion of foreigners and foreign influences from colonies.
8. Difficulties of administration :
 - a. Distance between colonies and home government.
 - b. Defective and insufficient means of communication.
 - c. The evils of bureaucracy.
9. Decline of the system of effectiveness.
10. Comparison of Spanish system of imperial control with that of other colonizing powers.

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B. Spanish Administrative System in the Colonies:

I. Spanish theory of administration as to the distribution of power:

1. Functional separation:

- a. Separation of powers: organic union of powers; personal separation.
- b. Over-lapping of powers; jealousy of a complete delegation of power. Idea of check and balance; absence of undivided responsibility.
- c. Executive officials surrounded by advisers; the *juntas*.

2. Territorial distribution:

- a. Officers of administration, except in extraordinary circumstances, crown appointees.
- b. Administrative decentralization; opinion of Alberdi.
- c. Theory and practice as to administrative supervision.

II. The administrative service:

1. The Viceroy (*Virrey*):
 - a. Creation of the office.
 - b. Powers and duties: administrative, military, political, judicial, ecclesiastical.
 - c. Possibilities of independent action—legal and actual; legal checks.
2. The *adelantado*; abandonment of this office.
3. The captain-general:
 - a. Distinctions in significance of term.
 - b. Creation of captaincies-general.
 - c. Relation of captain-general to viceroy.
4. The governor and the *gobierno* or province; presidencies.
5. The Commandancy; deputy officials (*tenientes*).
6. *Corregidor* and *alcalde mayor*.
7. Minor officials.
8. The *Contaduría*:
 - a. The *Junta Superior de Real Hacienda*.
 - b. *Contadores*, *asesores*, *veedores*, *fiscales*, etc.
 - c. *Tribunal de Cuentas* and the *Caja Real*.
9. The courts of law:
 - a. The Audiencia:
 - (1) Composition and jurisdiction; nature of the institution.
 - (2) Functions as court, executive council, administrative body.
 - (3) Occasional legislative activity.
 - (4) Relations with crown, viceroy, Council of the Indies, and Inquisition.
 - (5) Criticism of the institution.
 - (5) Importance of Audiencias as a basis of later territorial and political division.
 - b. The *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores* as judges.
 - c. *Alcaldes ordinarios*.

- d. Other courts: *Tribunal de Cuentas*, *jueces militares*; *jueces de minas*; *jueces de aguas*; *residencias*; ecclesiastical courts, etc.
- 10. The intendancies (*intendencias*) of the 18th century:
 - a. Creation and establishment of the office of *intendente*.
 - b. Comparison of the *intendencias* of Havana, New Spain, Perú, and Buenos Aires; the ordinance of 1803.
 - c. Powers of the intendant; intendants with jurisdiction of two "causes"—war and treasury (*ejército y hacienda*); those with jurisdiction of four "causes" (*ejército, hacienda, justicia, policía*).
 - d. The *sub-delegado*; the territorial unit called *partido*.
 - e. Results of the change; relations of the new officials with the old.
- 11. Municipal government:
 - a. Composition of the colonial *cabildos* or *ayuntamientos*; *regidores* and *alcaldes ordinarios*; royal officials attached to the *cabildos*.
 - b. Election or appointment of members; sale of offices; operation of the law of 1620 and of other regulations as to membership of the *cabildo*.
 - c. Political, social, legislative, economic, and ecclesiastical powers of the *cabildo*.
 - d. The *cabildos abiertos* or public sessions.
 - e. Municipal agents (*procuradores*).
 - f. Significance of the *cabildo* as an institution.
- 12. Organization and functioning of colonial *Santa Hermandad*.
- 13. Administrative decentralization.
- 14. Operation of the colonial system:

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- a. Facilities for communication between home government and colonies.
 - b. Slowness in functioning; routine and red-tape; *expedientes*.
 - c. Enforcement of law; difference between technical obedience and faithful execution—"Se obedece pero no se ejecuta."
 - d. Criticism as to lack of harmony in service, as to corruption, and as to misuse of power.
 - e. Lack of publicity in administration.
 - f. The high cost of justice; insufficient number of audiencias and other courts; slowness in administration of justice.
 - g. Ceremonials and governmental practices.
15. The colonial army:
- a. Organization of the Spanish military forces in the colonies.
 - b. Over-lapping of civil and military powers.
 - c. Financing of the army and of military works.
 - d. Special branches of the service.
16. Comparison of the Spanish colonial civil service with that of the English.

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C. The Church and the Real Patronato:

1. Papal regulation as to church organization and control in the colonies:
 - a. The bulls of Alexander VI, 1493, and Julius II, 1508; grant confirmed, explained, and amplified by Pope Adrian VI, Clement VII, Paul III, Sixtus V, Paul V, Urban VIII.
 - b. Care exercised in selection and appointment of colonial priesthood.
 - c. The Concordats of 1737 and 1753; ordinance of Charles III, 1770.
 - d. The Patriarch of the Indies; office instituted in reign of Philip III.
 - e. Church councils in colonies.

2. Relations of Church and State; Legal privileges of the colonial Church; the *fueros eclesiásticos*.
3. The *Cofradías* or church guilds and fraternities.
4. The "regular" orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and others; rivalry between the orders.
5. The mission system:
 - a. Establishment of missions.
 - b. Success in converting the Indians.
 - c. The mission as a frontier institution.
6. The church as a protector of the Indians; Indians as members of clergy.
7. The Inquisition in the Spanish colonies:
 - a. The tribunals of Mexico City, Lima, and Cartagena de Indias.
 - b. Punishment of heresy and infractions of the civil and canonical law.
 - c. Procedure; famous cases.
 - d. Participation in powers of censorship; intolerance in the colonies.
 - e. Relations of Inquisition with the Audiencias and the Spanish executive officials.
8. The clergy as defenders of the faith, educators, and colonizers.
9. Some notable priests and monks: Las Casas, Zumárraga, etc.
10. Expulsion of the Jesuits, 1767, (Portugal, 1759).
11. Criticism of the Church:
 - a. Charges of immorality and worldliness.
 - b. Abuses in the sale of *Bulas de la Santa Cruzada* (*Vivos, lacticios, composición, muertos*).
 - c. As possessor of unduly large share of wealth and property.
12. Services of the Church and Clergy:
 - a. Conversion of the natives.
 - b. Protector of the Indians.

- c. As educators, founders of universities, professors, writers, and explorers.
- d. As proprietors, capitalists, practical bankers.
- e. As regulating force in society.

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D. The Indians and the Labor System:

1. The aborigines:
 - a. Probable numbers of Indians in the Americas at time of discovery.
 - b. Great families: Aztecs, Mayas, Tlascalans, Nahuas, etc., of Mexico; Chibchas of Colombia; Arawaks and Caribs of Northern South America; Quechuas of Peru; Aymarás of Bolivia; Araucanians of Chile; Puelches of Argentina; Guaranís of Paraguay; Charrúas of Uruguay; Tupis, Tapuyas, etc., of Brazil.
 - c. Differences in culture, religion, government, and warlike disposition between the Indian families.
2. Indian civilization:
 - a. The Mayas and Aztecs of Mexico; arts, writing, religion, government, labor, property, etc.
 - b. The Chibchas of Colombia.
 - c. The Incas of Peru.
 - d. Persistence of ancient forms among Indians.
3. Treatment of the Indians by the Spanish:
 - a. Spain charged with cruelty and exploitation; opinions of Las Casas; report of Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa.

- b. Fate of the Indians of the West Indies.
 - c. Labor of Indians on the farms and in the mines.
 - d. Laws of Spain relative to the Indians:
 - (1) Early regulations; instructions to Columbus; laws of Burgos, 1512; laws of 1530.
 - (2) The New Laws, 1542.
 - (3) The *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*; the *mita*.
 - (4) The *Ordenanzas* of Alfaro, 1611.
 - (5) Protectors of the Indians—ecclesiastical and civil; the duties of the *corregidor*.
 - (6) Service of Indians in workshops (*obrages* and *trapiches*).
 - e. Law and practice; difficulties in the enforcement of humanitarian laws.
 - f. Taxation of Indians; the tribute; tithes.
 - g. Comparison of the treatment of the Indians by the Spanish with the treatment of dependent peoples by other nations.
4. Efforts to ameliorate the lot of Indians by humanitarians.
5. Indian resistance:
- a. Indians resisted conquest and subjection in almost every section of colonial empire.
 - b. Character of Indian warfare; tendency to become frightful.
 - c. Notable Indian wars.
 - d. Struggle of the "last of the Incas," Tupac-Amaru II, 1780-1781.
6. Contribution of the Indians to the race composition of the empire and later to the national composition of Hispanic America; significance of tribal and individual traits.
7. Negro slavery:
- a. Introduction of negroes.

- b. The slave trade; Spanish attitude thereto.
- c. Purchase of slaves from foreigners; concessions and *asientos*.
- d. Laws relative to negro slave labor.
- e. Status of emancipated slaves; problem of runaway slaves.

8. Free labor; workingmen's guilds.

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Mexico and Central America; Weisse, C., *Las civilizaciones primitivas del Perú*; ———, *Historia del Perú* (4 Vols.) Vol. I.

E. Trade System and Means of Transportation:

1. The Spanish theory and practice in colonial trade:
 - a. Mercantilism; monopoly of colonial trade; acts of trade in the Laws of the Indies.
 - b. The staple cities: In Spain, Sevilla and later Cadiz; in the colonies, Vera Cruz and Porto Bello; Cartagena, Acapulco, Manila in trade.
 - c. Modification of the monopoly through concessions, suspensions, and special licenses.
 - d. Operation of the system:
 - (1) Convoys and fleet system.
 - (2) Oceanic trade routes.
 - (3) The fairs of Porto Bello and Vera Cruz.
 - (4) Inland trade routes; distribution of imported commodities; means of transportation.
 - (5) Taxes on trade.
2. Means of enforcement of trade policies:
 - a. The *Casa de Contratación*.
 - b. The colonial administrative officers and a special body of officers commissioned for this purpose.
 - c. The convoys, fleets of revenue cutters and guard ships, and specially outfitted fleets to punish offenders.
 - d. The *Consulados*.
 - e. Harshly punitive laws applicable to foreigners, officials, and private subjects.
3. Spanish use of trading companies:
 - a. Private concessions; project of a series of trading companies, 1628.
 - b. The slave-trading companies.
 - c. The Guipúzcoa Company, 1728-1778:
 - (1) Benefits and abuses of a monopoly.

- (2) Rebellions of Francisco de León.
 - (3) Abolition of the company.
- d. The Royal Philippine Company.
- e. The Havana Company.
- f. The Santo Domingo Company.
- 4. Obstacles to the success of the system :
 - a. Smuggling and its profits.
 - b. Corrupt participation of officials in illicit trade ; connivance in violation of the law.
 - c. Buccaneers, pirates, and public enemies.
- 5. Early Eighteenth Century changes in trade system.
 - a. The Franco-Spanish treaty of 1701.
 - b. French abuses of treaty rights.
 - c. The War of Spanish Succession.
 - d. The Treaty of Utrecht and its effects :
 - (1) Recognition of Spanish monopoly.
 - (2) Concessions granted to the English.
 - (3) English commercial practices at Porto Bello and other ports of the Spanish Empire.
 - (4) Anglo-Spanish controversies over contraband ; the War of Jenkins' Ear.
- 6. Later Eighteenth Century Changes :
 - a. Spanish investigation of colonial trade conditions ; reforms projected.
 - b. Abandonment of the fleet system.
 - c. Reforms of Ensenada, Campomanes, Aranda, Grimaldi, Gálvez, Floridablanca during the reigns of Ferdinand VI, Charles III, and Charles IV :
 - (1) Formation of trading companies.
 - (2) *Navíos de permiso* ; establishment of a regular line of mail boats.
 - (3) The Free Trade laws, 1778.
 - (4) Establishment of the *Intendencias*.
 - (5) Foundation of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires.

- d. Disappointing results; continuation of discontent.
- 7. Local or municipal trade in the colonies:
 - a. The mercantile class; guilds.
 - b. Marketing or imported commodities.
 - c. Price-fixing; ordinances of the *cabildos*; the *fieles ejecutores*.

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F. Social Classes and Colonial Society:

1. Spanish types in the colonies:
Basque; Gallego; Catalan; Andalusian.
2. Classes and race distinctions:
Chapeton (gachupines); Creole; Mestizo; Mulatto; Zambo.
3. Classes and the government; the *divide et impera* policy.
4. Legacy of class distinction.
5. Spanish recognition of creoles and natives; numbers ennobled.
6. Colonial society; diversions; pursuits; occupations.

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G. Colonial Agriculture, Manufacturing, and Mining:

1. The land system:
 - a. Methods of acquiring real estate.
 - b. Grants by the crown or by the founders of the colony.
 - c. Primogeniture; entails (*mayorazgos*); mortmain; Indian common lands.
 - d. The terms: *solar*; *latifundia*; *repartimiento*; *encomienda*.
 - e. Favored position of *conquistadores* in acquiring lands.
2. Agricultural products; cacao, sugar, tobacco production, etc.
3. Stock raising in the colonies; the *Mesta*.
4. Mines and mining:
 - a. Crude methods.
 - b. Use of quicksilver; Bartolomé de Medina; Viceroy Toledo.
 - c. Exploitation by the Spanish of the richer mines.
 - d. The famous mines of Potosí, Puna, Huanacavélica, Pachuca.
 - e. The mining code of 1680.

5. Colonial manufactures:

- a. Development of manufacturing discouraged by home government.
- b. Cloth factories and sugar mills; other incipient manufacturing industries.

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H. The Colonial Taxation System:

1. The sources of revenue.
2. The taxes: the *alcabala*; *armada* and *armadilla*; *media anata*; royal ninths; Indian tribute; revenues from the mines; taxes on playing cards, salt, and tobacco; other taxes.
3. Revenues from the sale of offices.
4. The collection of the taxes; administrative problems; efforts at reform.

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I. Education and Thought:

1. The clergy and education; private instruction; secondary schools.
2. The universities:
 - a. Institutions founded at Lima, Mexico City, Bogotá, Córdoba (Argentina), Cuzco, Caracas, Santiago de Chile, Quito, etc.
 - b. Moral and theological emphasis; jurisprudence; literature.
 - c. University organization and control.
3. Instruction for Indians.
4. Colonial literature:
 - a. Early tendencies; clerical influences.
 - b. Achievements of Zumárraga, Las Casas, Ercilla, Balbuena, Juana Inés de la Cruz, Espejo, and others.
 - c. Scientific, archaeological, and ethnological production.
5. The colonial press.
6. Transplantation of Spanish civilization: language; customs; education; religion; political theories and institutions.

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J. Political History:

1. Diplomatic relations of Spain and Portugal in the 17th and 18th centuries as regarded the Americas; boundary treaties of 1750, 1761, and 1777.
2. The Viceroyalties: New Spain, 1534, Peru, 1542, New Granada, 1739, La Plata, 1776; significance of the creation of the new viceroyalties of New Granada and La Plata.
3. Policies and practices of the viceroys: with respect to the Indians; public improvements; the church; military defence; territorial expansion and exploration; trade, smuggling, and piracy; administration. Illustrations taken from the careers of selected viceroys.
4. Indian wars; political insurrections; frontier disputes; piratical incursions; attacks of public enemies; colonial participation in the international wars of Spain.
5. The favored and the neglected colonies.

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MAP: Robertson (between) 142-143.

NOTES

IV

SETTLEMENT OF BRAZIL AND PORTUGUESE COLONIAL INSTITUTIONS

1. The voyage of Cabral; Portuguese sphere in South America.
2. First settlements; attitude of Portugal toward Brazil; chief interest in India and spice-producing areas.
3. Change in policy; threat of foreign occupation.
4. Portuguese institutions of imperial control:
 - a. Early absence of institutions for colonial management; influence of Spain.
 - b. Inspectors of finances.
 - c. The *mesa da consciencia e ordens* (1532).
 - d. Council of Finance (*Conselho da Fazenda*) 1591.
 - e. Council of the Indies (*Conselho da India*), 1604; this council renamed *Conselho do Ultramar*.
 - f. Influence and power of the Council of State.
5. Portuguese system of colonization in Brazil:
 - a. Foundation of the captaincies; historical significance of the captaincy.
 - b. Ultimate form of the captaincy.
 - c. Administrative officials; governors and captain-generals; administrative decentralization; viceroys.
 - d. The courts; municipalities.
 - e. The church in Brazil; Jesuits and their missions; influence of Anchieta, Nobrega, Vieira.
 - f. The reforms of Pombal.
 - g. Comparison of Portuguese and Spanish Systems of colonization.
6. Portuguese treatment of natives:
 - a. Labor regulations; enslavement; the *bandeirantes*.

- b. Intermarriage; social status of mixed breeds.
 - c. The church and the native.
- 7. Negro slavery:
 - a. Importation of negro slaves (1502).
 - b. Companies engaged in slave trade.
 - c. Slave codes; mildness of system.
- 8. Portuguese commercial system:
 - a. Institutions for control of trade; adoption of mercantilism in less rigid form.
 - b. Regulations as to foreigners; commodities reserved for Portuguese monopoly.
 - c. Comparison of Spanish and Portuguese trade policies.
- 9. The Union of Spain and Portugal, 1588-1640:
 - a. Institutional influences of Spain and Brazil.
 - b. Attacks of Dutch, French, and English.
 - c. Struggle of Brazilians to liberate their land from alien occupation.
- 10. Beginning of Westward Movement in Brazil:
 - a. Expansion of São Paulo.
 - b. Society of the frontier; the *Paulistas*.
 - c. Discovery of gold, 1693; diamonds, 1730; movements of population.
 - d. Mining regulations.
- 11. Society and thought in Brazil:
 - a. Cultural relations with mother country; influence of University of Coimbra.
 - b. Social classes in Brazil.

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V

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

A. Sources, causes, and elements of discontent in the Spanish Colonies:

1. Criticism of colonial system by officials and visitors.
2. Monopoly of colonial offices by Spaniards of European birth; Creole subordination in society.
3. The long-standing economic grievances; trade regulations, despite modifications and suspensions, still subject of discontent.
4. The expulsion of the Jesuits:
 - a. Regretted as educators, as defence against Portuguese, as leading exponents and expounders of the faith.
 - b. Many colonials as members of the order; many kinsmen angered.
 - c. Ex-Jesuits as enemies spread anti-Spanish propaganda.
 - d. Spain deprived of probable support.
5. Administrative abuses which varied in degree and importance, but which existed in all the colonies.
6. Isolation and neglect of certain colonies as contrasted with certain favored ones.
7. Isolation of whole colonial empire which was more or less effectively shut off from European culture and progress; Spain reproached for keeping the colonial people in ignorance.
8. Influence of the United States, France, and Great Britain:
 - a. Effects of the independence of the United States; diffusion of revolutionary ideas in Spanish Amer-

- ica; Aranda's prophecy; Spanish aid to the United States and its influence.
- b. The French revolution; infiltration of revolutionary political philosophy.
- c. Influence and activities of those were educated or who traveled in Europe or the United State.
- d. The English influence on ideas; expectation of British aid and protection in case of revolt.
- 9. Expression of discontent by leaders in each country.

B. Precursory events:

- 1. Spain involved in the wars accompanying and following the French Revolution; relaxation of control over colonies; opportunities for political education; growth in political self-consciousness.
- 2. Rebellious or revolutionary outbreaks in the colonies.
- 3. The career and mission of Francisco Miranda, "El Precursor":
 - a. Early life and training of Miranda; breach with the Spanish government.
 - b. Conceives purpose of revolutionizing Spanish colonial empire.
 - c. Experiences in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Europe at large.
 - d. Formation of a secret society, the *Logia Americana*, of which he was grand master; initiation of many who were later leaders in struggle for independence.
 - e. Efforts to secure aid from Great Britain or the United States for his projects, successes and failures.
 - f. The expedition of 1806 on the "Leander."
- 4. British expeditions to Buenos Aires and Montevideo, 1806-1807; their failure and results.

5. The invasion of the Spanish Peninsula by Napoleon:
 - a. Diplomatic situation in Europe (1801-1807) that affected Spain; agreements of Napoleon and Charles IV.
 - b. Franco-Spanish coöperation as to Portugal followed by invasion of Spain; revelation of Napoleon's purposes.
 - c. Governmental changes in Spain; abdication of Charles IV; accession of Ferdinand VII; his enforced abdication and imprisonment.
 - d. "Dos de Mayo, 1808"; reaction of Spanish national spirit against French occupation and against Joseph Bonaparte, "el rey intruso."
 - e. Formation of municipal *juntas* for resistance; constitutional aspects of this movement.
 - f. Formation of the *Junta Superior Central Gubernativa* of Sevilla.

C. Immediate Causes:

1. Reactions in the colonies to the news of the invasion of Spain and the imprisonment of the king.
2. The legal and constitutional crisis; questions as to the status of the colonies.
3. Bids for the support of the colonies:
 - a. The proffers of the French.
 - b. The offers and pleas of the *Junta Central*.
 - c. Varied response of the colonists; colonial aid to Spain.
 - d. The offer of Princess Carlota; Portuguese policy in South America.
4. Collapse of the *Junta Central*; formation of Regency; French occupation of Spain.

D. Progress toward a Revolution for Independence in the Colonies:

1. Expressions of loyalty to Ferdinand VII.'

2. Proposals to form local colonial *juntas* to govern in name of Ferdinand; appearance of colonial political parties and factions; history of formation of colonial *juntas*; use of the *cabildos* as residuary repositories of power.
3. Revolutions in fact, but not in name; resistance of the loyalists.
4. Controversies as to when and where the revolution for independence started in Spanish America; rival claims of Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Uruguay.
5. Adoption of declarations of independence in South America.

E. The Course of the Wars for Independence in South America:

1. Establishment of a *junta* in Caracas, April 19, 1810.
2. City movements in Bogotá, Quito, and Cartagena; work of Nariño.
3. Activities of Miranda and Bolívar in Venezuela; diplomatic mission of Bolívar.
4. The Venezuelan declaration of independence; the constitution.
5. Capitulation of San Mateo, July 25, 1812; imprisonment and death of Miranda; exile of Bolívar; policy and practice of Monteverde.
6. Second phase of the revolution; leadership of Bolívar:
 - a. Bolívar's campaigns in and from New Granada.
 - b. The project for the liberation of Venezuela; Order of *Libertadores*; the guerilla leaders of Venezuela, Piar, Bermúdez, Mariño.
 - c. Frightful character of the struggle; "War to the Death."

- d. Victories and defeats; the second exile.
 - (1) Bolívar's brilliant campaigns of 1813.
 - (2) Rise of Boves and Morales.
 - (3) Massacre of the prisoners at La Guaira.
 - (4) The disasters of 1814; La Puerta and Valencia.
 - (5) Abandonment of Caracas; retreat to Barcelona (July 1814).
 - (6) Bolívar again in New Granada.
 - 7. Royalist policy and practice under Boves, Morales, and Morillo; "patriot" resistance reduced to guerilla warfare; Morillo's reduction of Venezuela and New Granada; siege of Cartagena.
 - 8. The third phase; the victory:
 - a. Return of Bolívar from Jamaica and Haiti, 1816; aid of foreigners.
 - b. Campaigns of Arismendi, Bermúdez, Páez, Mariño; dissensions.
 - c. The Congress of Angostura, 1819.
 - d. The crossing of the Andes and the battle of Boyacá, 1819.
 - e. The truce.
 - f. The battle of Carabobo, 1821.
 - 9. Liberation of Quito; battles of Pichincha and Bomboná, 1822; services of General Sucre.
 - 10. Political thought of Bolívar:
 - a. The Jamaica letter of 1815.
 - b. The projects of the Constitution of Angostura.
 - c. Speeches on domestic and foreign policy.
 - d. Bolívar and his civil assistants, Zea and Santander.
- II. In the South, 1809-1822:
- 1. The Revolution in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires;
 - a. Political situation under rule of Viceroys Liniers and Cisneros.

- b. The *cabildo abierto* and the formation of a *junta*, May 25, 1810.
- c. Personalities and political ideas of Moreno, Castelli, Belgrano, Saavedra, Paso, Dean Funes; resistance of Liniers.
- d. Period of Moreno's ascendancy; his constructive achievements; his overthrow and death.
- e. The conservative reaction, 1811-1812; Saavedra and Funes; military operations.
- f. The revolutionizing of Paraguay:
 - (1) State of opinion in Paraguay; invitation to coöperate sent by Buenos Aires to Asunción; Espínola mission.
 - (2) Governor Velasco summons congress to decide upon response, (Aug. 24, 1810).
 - (3) The Belgrano expedition against Paraguay; history of its failure; battles of Paraguari and Tacuari, 1811.
 - (4) Governor Velasco discredited; formation of local *junta*; rise of Francia; Treaty with Buenos Aires, Oct. 12, 1811.
 - (5) Independence of Paraguay under Dr. Francia; congresses of 1813 and 1816.
- g. Political changes at Buenos Aires; the triumvirate; San Martín, Alvear, Zapiola, Monteagudo; Posadas; Pueyrredón and Rivadavia; radicalism *versus* conservatism; establishment of the *Logia de Lautaro*, 1812.
- h. Campaigns in Alto Perú, Uruguay, and northern Argentina.
 - (1) Campaigns of Balcarce and Castelli; battles of Suipacha (Nov. 7, 1810) and Huaqui (Jun. 20, 1811).
 - (2) Goyeneche in Upper Peru; battles of Sipe-sipe (Aug. 13, 1811) San Sebastián (May 27, 1812); punishment of Cochabamba.

- (3) Invasion of Argentina; battles of Tucumán (Sept. 24, 1812) and Salta (Feb. 20, 1813).
- (4) Belgrano defeated by Pezuela at Vilcapugio (Oct. 1, 1813), and Aysehuma (Nov. 14, 1813).
- (5) Victory of Arenales at La Florida (May 21, 1814).
- (6) Expedition of Rondeau, 1815; its defeat at Viluma, Nov. 27.
- i. The Assembly of 1813; the Directorate; parties and factions in Argentina.
- j. The problem of Uruguay; career of Artigas; Uruguayan opposition to Buenos Aires and Brazil; successes of Admiral Brown; elimination of Artigas; Brazilian occupation of Uruguay, 1817.
- k. The Congress of Tucumán (1816); Argentine declaration of independence.
- l. Governmental problems of Buenos Aires, 1816-1820:
 - (1) Separatism and anarchy; *caudillismo* and the revolution.
 - (2) Military and diplomatic problems.
 - (3) Administration of Pueyrredón, 1816-1819; governmental instability, 1819-1820.
 - (4) Federalists successes and reverses, 1820; suppression of the Cabildo of Buenos Aires.
 - (5) Intervention of the clergy in political affairs.
- m. San Martín as soldier and as governor of the Province of Cuyo:
 - (1) Career as commander-in-chief of the Argentine forces.
 - (2) Arrived at conclusion that plan of invasion of Peru by way of Alto Perú was impracticable.

- (3) The project of a trans-Andine expedition for the liberation of Chile.
 - (4) Organization of the expeditionary army; San Martín's genius as an organizer.
2. The revolution in Chile:
- a. Insurgency and loyalty in Chile.
 - b. The work of Rozas; return of José Miguel Carrera and Bernardo O'Higgins; services of of Camilo Henríquez, Irisarri, Salas, Egaña, Gandarillas.
 - c. Formation of a *junta*; the "Catecismo político-cristiano"; the "sargentada" of September, 1810; governmental changes and party organizations of 1810-1811; J. M. Carrera as animating spirit of revolution.
 - d. The Carreras in power; brilliant campaign against the Spanish; divisions and jealousies; General Mackenna; Constitution of 1812; the Carreras by impolitic conduct offend certain powerful families; O'Higgins' heroism at Roble (1813).
 - e. Overthrow and capture of J. M. Carrera; O'Higgins in command; battle of Membrillar; campaign around Chillán; mediation of Hillyard; Truce of Lircay (1814).
 - f. Growth of feud between Carreras and O'Higgins; Carrera by *coup* regains power and the command; renewal of the war; "abnegation of O'Higgins" Sept. 3, 1814; the disaster of Rancagua (Oct. 1-2, 1814).
 - g. Collapse of the revolution; flight of the leaders across the Andes to Mendoza; San Martín supports O'Higgins as against the Carreras; visit of Carrera to United States; later projects.

- h. Passage of the Andes by San Martín, 1817; defence of northern Argentina by Güemes.
 - i. Battles of Chacabuco (1817), Cancha Rayada and Maipo (1818); distinguished service of General Las Heras.
 - j. Re-establishment of revolutionary government at Santiago with O'Higgins as Supreme Director; opposition; Manuel Rodríguez.
 - k. Lord Cochrane; organization of the Chilean navy; naval victories.
 - l. Subsequent career of the Carreras; J. M. Carrera as *caudillo* in Argentina; his execution at Mendoza, 1821; bitter controversy as to merits of his cause; later influence on Chilean politics.
3. The liberation of Peru:
- a. Political situation in Peru.
 - (1) The able administration of Viceroy Abascal.
 - (2) Series of uprisings speedily and harshly suppressed.
 - (3) Loyalty and insurgency in Peru.
 - b. The military expedition to Peru; Miller and Arenales; preliminary campaigns.
 - c. San Martín's political and military policies; controversies with Cochrane; Spanish resistance under La Serna, Canterac, and Olañeta.
 - d. San Martín as Protector of Peru; "Order of the Sun"; Monteagudo and Torre Tagle as civil officials; diplomatic relations with Chile and Argentina.
 - e. Indecisive military results; demoralization in Peru; seeming failure of San Martín as executive.
4. Coalescence of the revolutionary movements; final campaign in Peru:
- a. Peruvian and Colombian rivalries over Guayaquil.

- b. The interview of San Martín and Bolívar at Guayaquil, 1822.
- c. Retirement of San Martín; Peruvian appeal for aid to Bolívar; intermediate governmental changes in Peru.
- d. Arrival of Sucre and Bolívar in Peru; difficulties of the situation; relations of Bolívar with Riva Agüero and Torre Tagle; Bolívar as dictator.
- e. Battles of Junín (Aug. 6, 1824) and Ayacucho (Dec. 9, 1824).
- f. Liberation of Alto Perú; battle of Tumusla, 1825; constitution of Bolívar.
- g. Capture of Callao, 1826; end of Spanish power.
- h. Chilean expedition against Chiloé.

F. The Revolution in Mexico and Central America:

- 1. Comparison of conditions in Mexico with those in South America.
- 2. Precursors of revolution; plans of Verdad and Talamantes.
- 3. Character and personal interests of Viceroy Iturrigaray; the projects and constitutional ideas of the Cabildo of Mexico City; deposition of the viceroy, September, 1808, by the Spanish party; the general *junta* of 1808.
- 4. Period of indecision and confusion, 1808-1810; Garibay and Xavier de Lizana as viceroys and puppets of the Audiencia; secret societies; the French intrigue; growth of revolutionary feeling.
- 5. The conspiracy of Obesa and the priest Vicente de Santa María.
- 6. The priest Miguel Hidalgo and the revolution he led:
 - a. "El grito de Dolores"; political and social ideas of Hidalgo.

- b. Effects of the revolution upon the Spanish element, the Church, the creoles, and the Indians.
 - c. Rebel victories at Celaya, Guanajuato, Guadalajara; deplorable excesses of the revolutionists; defeats at Aculco, Guadalajara, and at other places; Spanish reprisals.
 - d. Betrayal and death of Hidalgo, July, 1811.
7. The period of Morelos:
- a. More precise formulation of revolutionary opinion and aims.
 - b. Campaigns in and about Zitácuaro, Cuautla, Oaxaca.
 - c. Spanish policy: Viceroy Venegas and Calleja; constitution of 1812 and its suspension; Mexican representation in the Cortes of Spain.
 - d. The Congress of Chilpancingo; declaration of independence, November 6, 1813; constitution of Apatzingán.
 - e. Restoration of Ferdinand VII; adoption of some reforms in colonial government.
 - f. Defeat and execution of Morelos, December 22, 1815.
8. Continuation of the war under Guerrero, Guadalupe Victoria, Mina, Mier y Terán, and others.
9. Influence in Mexico of the Spanish revolution of 1820.
10. Iturbide and the Plan of Iguala:
- a. Clerical opposition to the new order in Spain; Iturbide as military agent of the clerical party.
 - b. Conferences with Guerrero; Plan of Iguala.
 - c. Success of the Army of the Three Guarantees.
 - d. The Treaty of Córdoba.
11. Independence of Mexico.
12. The revolution in West Florida.
13. Revolutionizing of Central America:
- a. Central America during the wars of independence; the uprising of 1821.

- b. Expedition of General Filísola.
- c. Formation of the Central American Confederation (1823).

G. The Independence of Saint Domingue:

- 1. Influence and results of the French Revolution in Haiti; freedom of the Negro slaves.
- 2. The Treaty of Basle, 1795.
- 3. Napoleonic policy in Saint Domingue.
- 4. Career of Toussaint L'Ouverture.
- 5. Failure of the French expedition; virtual independence of the island; influence of the Treaty of Vienna; separation and re-union of Santo Domingo and Haiti.

H. The Wars of Independence Considered as Civil Wars:

- 1. Small numbers of Spaniards involved in proportion to the numbers engaged.
- 2. Decimation of the ranks of the higher social classes.
- 3. Struggle for independence regarded as an opportunity for the mixed breeds.
- 4. Influence upon subsequent history.
- 5. Emigration of loyalists elements after the wars.
- 6. The Church in the wars.

I. The part of the Indians in the Wars:

- 1. Indians in the armies of each side.
- 2. Revolutionary legislation in behalf of the Indians.

J. Aid of Foreigners:

- 1. British and Irish in the wars; the "Foreign Legion" in the service of Bolívar.
- 2. Citizens of the United States in the revolutionary armies.
- 3. Origin of supplies and munitions.
- 4. War-time trade with foreign states; maritime prizes.

K. Comparison of the Wars of Independence in Spanish-America with that in the United States.

L. The Independence of Brazil:

1. Effects of Napoleonic policy upon Portugal; transfer of the Portuguese royal family and court to Brazil; Prince João sails November, 29, 1807 and arrives January 21, 1808.
2. Results of the transfer:
 - a. Free trade and economic reforms.
 - b. Administrative changes.
 - c. Establishment of a national bank, printing press, library and educational institutions; immigration.
3. Brazil as a kingdom, 1815; reign of João VI.
4. Brazil and the Spanish-American struggle for independence:
 - a. The projects of Princess Carlota.
 - b. Policy with respect to Uruguay and Paraguay.
 - c. Brazilian recognition of the independence of certain Spanish-American states.
5. Anti-Portuguese sentiment in politics; revolution in Pernambuco, 1817.
6. The Portuguese revolution of 1820; recall of João VI; regency of Pedro.
7. Anti-Brazilian legislation in the Portuguese Cortes; demand in Brazil for a constitution; growth of independence sentiment; influence of José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva; the "Grito de Ypiranga," Sept. 7, 1822.
8. Expulsion of the Portuguese garrisons; services of Lord Cochrane; restraining influence of Great Britain upon Portugal.
9. Establishment of the empire; the constitution of 1824.
10. Recognition of Brazil.

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NOTES

VI

“ON THE MARGIN OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE”; RECOGNITION AND THE MONROE MESSAGE OF 1823

1. Early ideas as to an American concert of powers.
2. Diplomatic relations of the United States and Great Britain with the Spanish-American *de facto* governments, 1810-1818:
 - a. Spanish-American diplomatic missions.
 - b. Consular agents and observers of the United States in South America.
 - c. Policy of the United States: sympathetic neutrality; law of 1817; prize cases; supplies and munitions.
 - d. Foreign interests in commercial possibilities.
 - e. The European wars and Spanish-American diplomatic fortunes.
 - f. British representatives in Spanish America .
3. European views on recognition:
 - a. Official opinion.
 - b. Napoleon favorable to a recognition of Venezuela.
 - c. Views of Sir James Mackintosh and Lord Brougham.
4. Jefferson's theory of recognition.
5. Championship of the Spanish-American cause by Henry Clay.
6. Attitude, after Congress of Vienna, of European chancelleries toward Spanish-American independence:
 - a. Application of the Metternich principles to this problem.
 - b. Development of policies of Holy Alliance and Concert of Europe at Congresses of Troppau, Laibach, and Verona.
 - c. Policy of Great Britain; withdrawal from the Concert of Europe.

- d. Reactions of European states to proposals for the establishment of monarchy in Spanish-American countries.
- e. Consideration by certain states of active intervention in Spanish America in behalf of Spain.
- 7. Recognition by the United States of certain Spanish-American countries, 1822:
 - a. The Monroe-Adams policy, 1818-1822.
 - b. The Florida Purchase treaty, 1819; ratification by Spain, 1821.
 - c. Sentiment for recognition in the United States Congress.
 - d. Spanish-American states give more convincing evidences of stability in government.
 - e. Recognition.
- 8. The Monroe Message of 1823:
 - a. Evolution of the principles of the so-called Monroe Doctrine as contained in this message.
 - b. European background; the Canning-Rush correspondence.
 - c. Relations of France and Great Britain; removal of prospect of immediate intervention; French pledge not to intervene, November 5, 1823.
 - d. Analysis of Monroe message.
 - e. Reception of the Monroe message in Spanish America and Europe.
- 9. Proposals by certain Hispanic-American states of an alliance with the United States.
- 10. Recognition of Hispanic-American states by Great Britain and France.
- 11. The Panama Congress, 1826:
 - a. Bolívar's conception of a Spanish-American confederation; proposals and treaties of 1822.
 - b. The call for a congress; its aims; inclusion of the United States among those invited.

- c. Controversy in the Congress of the United States on question of participation; interpretation of the Monroe message of 1823; views of President Adams.
- d. Deliberations of the Congress of Panama; results.
- 12. Recognition of Spanish-American independence by Spain.

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NOTES

VII

POLITICAL THEORIES AND EARLY REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS

1. The monarchial idea *versus* the republican; opinions of the revolutionary leaders: Bolívar, San Martín, Rivadavia, Belgrano, Sucre, Páez, etc.
2. Character of governments established: unitary and federal.
3. Early political parties or divisions and their theories:
 - a. Unitary, federal, conservative, radical.
 - b. Political factions: military, civilian, clerical, lay.
 - c. Party organization and methods; "plans"; *pronunciamientos*.
 - d. Personalism (*personalismo*) in politics.
 - e. Revolution as a means of political action.
4. The problem of the military chieftain (*caudillo*); explanations of *caudillismo* by Hispanic-American writers.
5. Dictatorship in Hispanic-American political history:
 - a. García Moreno,—Ecuador.
 - b. Ramón Castilla—Peru.
 - c. Rosas—Argentina.
 - d. Páez, Guzmán Blanco, Castro, Gómez—Venezuela.
 - e. Santa Anna and Díaz—Mexico.
 - f. Estrada Cabrera—Guatemala.
 - g. Francia, Carlos Antonio López, and Francisco Solano López—Paraguay.
 - h. Belzú and Melgarejo—Bolivia.
6. Liberal and conservative writers on politics: Lastarria, Bilbao, Echeverría, Montalvo, Vigil, Bello, Sarmiento, Alberdi, Acosta, etc.
7. Influence of France, Great Britain, and the United States upon politics and institutions.

8. Early constitutions:

- a. Forms of government.
- b. Theories as to separation of powers.
- c. Bills of rights and personal guaranties; "the state of siege."
- d. The office of president:
 - (1) Constitutional powers in various states.
 - (2) Prestige and dignity of office; relation to other departments.
 - (3) Early types of executives: tyrants, dictators, liberators, restorers, *caudillos*, *regeneradores*.
- e. Character, organization, and powers of legislatures; congress *versus* president; experiments with unicameral legislatures; the *Comisión Conservadora*.
- f. Influence of the English and French systems of cabinet government.
- g. The judiciary in Hispanic America; constitutional powers and position in administration; judicial review of legislation.

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NOTES

VIII

POLITICAL HISTORY, 1826-1926

PART I—HISPANIC SOUTH AMERICAN STATES

A. Argentina:

- I. Anarchy and dissolution; nominal union between the Argentine provinces:
 1. Formation of new provinces.
 2. Changes in the government of Buenos Aires, 1820; personal and party factors in the confused situation; unitarists and federalists; *caudillos*—Ramírez, Carrera, Bustos, Quiroga, Lopez, Ibarra, etc.
 3. Battle of Cepeda; Treaty of Pilar; struggles among the *caudillos*; Dorrego.
 4. Governments at Buenos Aires of Rodríguez and Las Heras, 1820-1825; Rivadavia and García as ministers; reforms of Rivadavia: educational, financial, agrarian, ecclesiastical.
 5. Presidency of Rivadavia:
 - a. The congress of 1824-1825; "fundamental law" of 1825.
 - b. Election of Rivadavia; governmental difficulties.
 - c. War with Brazil; question of Uruguay:
 - (1) Military operations; battle of Ituzaingó, 1827.
 - (2) Treaty of peace; fall of Rivadavia.
 6. Renewal of civil war; governments of Dorrego, Lavalle, and Viamonte; rise of Rosas.
- II. The Era of Rosas, 1831-1852:
 1. Education, character, and early career of Rosas.
 2. The Balcarce and Viamonte interludes, 1831-1835.

3. Establishment of a frank dictatorship; Rosas invested with extraordinary powers (*facultades extraordinarias*) and later with the totality of power (*suma de poder público*).
4. The tyranny: cruelty of the system; the *mazorca*—its odious and terrible practices; astute policy of Rosas in dividing his enemies; the emigration.
5. Resistance to Rosas:
 - a. Opposition of the *caudillos*.
 - b. The Association of May (*Asociación de Mayo*).
 - c. The Maza uprising, 1839; revolution in the south.
 - d. Unitarist opposition: anti-Rosas propaganda; Echeverría, Gutiérrez, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre; organization of Young Argentina (*la juventud argentina*); military activities of Lavalle and Paz.
6. Foreign policy:
 - a. The break with Dr. Francia.
 - b. Rosas and Uruguay; Argentina and the rivalries of Generals Rivera and Oribe.
 - c. Relations with France; the French blockade of Buenos Aires.
 - d. Siege of Montevideo; difficulties with Great Britain and France.
7. Overthrow of Rosas:
 - a. Character and career of General Urquiza; breach with Rosas.
 - b. The coalition—Urquiza, the Unitarists, Uruguay, and Brazil—battle of Monte Caseros, 1852.
 - c. Rosas in exile.
8. Significance of the rule of Rosas:
 - a. Practical service to the unification of Argentina.
 - b. Partial elimination of the *caudillos*.
 - c. Contest with the church.

- d. Differences of opinion as to the significance of the "tyranny."

III. National Reorganization, 1852-1881 :

- 1. Diversity of viewpoints:
 - a. Plans and ideas of Urquiza, the federalists, and the unitarists; the "polemics" of Alberdi, Mitre, and Sarmiento; influence of Alsina; the agreement of San Nicolás; disagreements and violence.
- 2. The constitution of 1853.
- 3. Secession of Buenos Aires.
- 4. Administrations of Urquiza and Derqui:
 - a. Efforts at organization and conciliation.
 - b. Conflict with Buenos Aires; mediation of Paraguay.
 - c. Foreign relations; Alberdi's mission.
 - d. Mitre as governor of Buenos Aires.
 - e. Presidency of Derqui; renewal of the conflict; battle of Pavón.
- 5. Administration of Mitre, 1862-1868:
 - a. Constitutional changes and proposals.
 - b. New political parties; civil wars during presidency of Mitre.
 - c. Foreign relations; alliance with Brazil and Uruguay; war with Paraguay (see *Paraguay*).
 - d. "Political testament" of Mitre.
- 6. Administration of Sarmiento, 1868-1874:
 - a. Revolution of López Jordán.
 - b. Progress of Argentina in education and industry.
 - c. The Mitre uprising.
- 7. Administration of Avellaneda, 1874-1880:
 - a. Continuation of progress and prosperity; internal improvements.
 - b. The southward movement; wars with the Indians; Alsina and Roca.

8. The federalization of the city of Buenos Aires;
foundation of the city of La Plata.

IV. Economic and Political Crises, 1880-1898:

1. First administration of Roca, 1880-1886.
2. Juárez Celman and the panic:
 - a. Extravagant expenditures; relations with the Baring House of London.
 - b. The crisis; formation of the *Unión Cívica*; resignation of Juárez Celman.
3. Administration of Pellegrini:
 - a. Roca as minister of the interior.
 - b. Efforts at financial rehabilitation.
4. Sáenz Peña and Uriburu, 1892-1898:
 - a. Continuation of financial and political troubles.
 - b. Treaty of arbitration with Chile.

V. Contemporary History of Argentina:

1. Second administration of Roca; progress toward solution of financial troubles.
2. Quintana and Alcorta, 1904-1910; labor laws.
3. President Roque Sáenz Peña and the electoral laws of 1912.
4. Irigoyen and political radicalism; the world war.
5. Administration of Alvear.
6. Contemporary social and political issues.

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B. Brazil:

I. The Reign of Pedro I, 1822-1831:

1. Personal character and political ideas of Pedro I.
2. Analysis of the constitution of 1824; powers of the crown, especially the "moderative" powers; absolutist tendencies; parliamentary opposition.
3. Foreign relations; end of Brazilian occupation and administration of Uruguay; disastrous war with Argentina—invasion of Brazil; battle of Ituzaingó; relations with Portugal.
4. Ministerial responsibility to parliament, 1827; instability of cabinets.
5. Demand for a federation.
6. Factious opposition to Pedro I; abdication, April 7, 1831.

II. The Regency, 1831-1840:

1. Character of the period of the Regency; difficulties of interpretation; political turbulence; rebellions and revolutions; monarchists, republicans, federalists.
2. Amendment of the constitution, 1834.
3. Services of Feijó, 1835-1837, and Araujo Lima, Marquis of Olinda.
4. The Liberal victory; Vasconcellos and the Andradas; the Emperor declared of age.

III. Reign of Pedro, II, 1840-1889:

1. Character, education, and political theories of the Emperor; the "despotism of morality."
2. Establishment of order: revolutions in Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, Minas Geraes, Pernambuco combatted and finally suppressed.
3. Political history of the reign:
 - a. The Emperor as administrator and statesman; his assistants.
 - b. Parliamentary history; rivalries of Conservatives and Liberals.
 - c. Political and material progress.
 - d. Abolition of the slave trade; relations with Great Britain concerning this trade.
 - e. Slavery in Brazil; anti-slavery sentiment and legislation; the Rio Branco law of 1871; provincial laws; the act of 1885.
 - f. Abolition of slavery, 1888, without compensation; political and social consequences.
4. Foreign relations:
 - a. Relations with Argentina; Brazilian participation in the overthrow of Rosas; enmities and jealousies between the two states.
 - b. Intervention in Uruguay.
 - c. The war with Paraguay (see *Paraguay*); effects upon Brazil.
 - d. The "opening up" of the Amazon to commerce.
 - e. Brazil and Spanish America.
5. The fall of the empire.
 - a. Gradual withdrawal of support; republican sentiment in Brazil—Benjamin Constant; the former slave owners lukewarm; the Clergy antagonized; the army question; dynastic considerations.
 - b. The bloodless revolution of November, 1889; deposition of the Emperor.

IV. The Republic, 1889-1925:

1. The provisional government, 1889-1891.
 - a. Ascendancy of military elements; Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca.
 - b. The constitution of 1891; work of Ruy Barbosa.
2. Administrations of Deodoro da Fonseca and Floriano Peixoto, 1891-1894:
 - a. Presidency as a veiled dictatorship; conflict with congress.
 - b. Resignation of Deodoro; presidency of Floriano Peixoto; dictatorship more pronounced and under abler guidance.
 - c. The civil war, 1892-1893:
 - (1) Rebellion of Saraiva in Rio Grande do Sul; naval revolt with Admirals Mello and da Gama as leaders; the republic tested.
 - (2) Intervention of the United States and other powers; collapse of the rebellion; punitive measures of the government.
 - d. Defective financial legislation.
3. Administration of Barros Moraes, civilian, 1894-1898:
 - a. Peace and reconstruction.
 - b. Uprising of the religious fanatic, Antonio Maciel.
 - c. Arbitration of the Misiones dispute.
 - d. Financial difficulties; collapse of the exchange.
4. Campos Salles, 1898-1902:
 - a. Financial crisis; the Rothschild loan.
 - b. Arbitration of boundary disputes.
5. Rodrigues Alves, 1902-1906:
 - a. Programme of internal improvements and sanitation; re-building of Rio de Janeiro and other cities.
 - b. The Acre territory dispute and settlement; service of Baron Rio Branco.

- c. Summary of the administration of Rodrigues Alves.
6. Alfonso Penna and the Caixa de Conversão.
7. Hermes da Fonseca and the return of the military to power.
8. Dr. Wenceslau Braz, Pessôa, and Bernárdez.
9. Brazil and the World War.
10. The civil war of 1924; São Paulo as a center of military operations.
11. Contemporary problems in government and politics.

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C. Uruguay:

I. Creation of Uruguay:

1. The status of Uruguay—geographic and political; Argentine claims; Brazilian interests.
2. Brazilian occupation and administration of Uruguay, 1817-1825; Uruguayan acquiescence and opposition.
3. The expedition of the "Thirty-three"; expulsion of the Brazilians; opinion favorable to union with Argentina.
4. War between Argentina and Brazil (*see Argentina*).
5. Terms of the treaty of peace; Uruguayan independence guaranteed.
6. The constitution of 1830.

II. Independence tested, 1830-1870:

1. Uruguayan political parties; rivalries of Lavalleja, Rivera, and Oribe; the *colorados* and the *blancos*.
2. Influence of Argentine politics on Uruguay; anti-Rosas and pro-Rosas sentiment; the Argentine *émigrés*; French activities.

3. The "great war"; siege of Montevideo; participation of Uruguay in the overthrow of Rosas.
4. Decline of foreign influence on the government of Uruguay; settlement of boundary disputes.
5. General Flores; Brazilian intervention; the Paraguayan war (see *Paraguay*).

III. Uruguay Independent:

1. Political disorders and revolutions, 1870-1897; Uruguay, the "ungovernable"; Batle, Latorre, Herrera y Obes.
2. Progress towards political stability; President Cuestas, 1897-1903.
3. Ecclesiastical legislation and regulations; economic and educational progress; immigration.
4. Batle y Ordóñez, Williman, Viera, Brum, Serrato; reorganization of parties; social legislation; internal improvements.
5. The constitution of 1919; innovations provided.
6. Contemporary government and politics.

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D. Paraguay:

I. The Rule of Dr. Francia, 1813-1840:

1. Character, training, and political theories of Francia.
2. Isolation of the country—economic, diplomatic, cultural; Francia's attitude toward foreigners.
3. The tyranny analyzed; maintenance of order; fostering of patriotism; economic and industrial policies; legislation respecting the church; Francia and the Indians.
4. Personal achievements; methods of government.
5. Francia as a factor in the politics of La Plata region.
6. Estimates of Francia by historians.

II. Dictatorship of Carlos Antonio López, 1841-1862:

1. The brief period of the second consulate, 1841-1844; López chosen president and later (1857) given right to designate his successor.
2. Changes in foreign policy; isolation abandoned; efforts to obtain recognition, to settle boundary lines, and to promote immigration.

3. Complications in foreign relations; disputes with Argentina, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Brazil; interventions.
 4. Governmental practices; administrative changes; nepotism.
- III. Francisco Solano López as Dictator, 1862-1870:
1. Education and political ideas of López; character of his rule; conflicting interpretations of the man and his purposes.
 2. Militarism in Paraguay; ambitions and preparations of the dictator.
 3. The Paraguayan war, 1865-1870:
 - a. Causes of the war—ultimate and immediate; the dispute with Brazil respecting the intervention in Uruguay.
 - b. War with Brazil and Uruguay; invasion of Matto Grosso.
 - c. The request for permission to transfer troops across Argentine territory; the refusal and the violation of Argentine territory; war with Argentina.
 - d. The Tripartite Treaty of alliance signed by Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay; its provisions.
 - e. History of the war; the allied forces under command of Mitre and Tamandaré; under Caxias and the Comte d'Eu; the military campaigns: Paraguayan defeats in Argentina and Brazil; battles of Tuyutí, Curupaiti, and Huamitá.
 - f. Occupation of Asunción, 1869; death of López, 1870.
 - g. The peace; Argentine and Brazilian dissensions; territorial losses of Paraguay; military occupation of Paraguay.
 - h. Foreign opinion of the war; interpretation by the participating parties; views of Alberdi.

IV. Paraguay since the War:

1. The constitution of 1870.
2. The problem of governmental stability.
3. Social effects of the war; recuperation and reconstruction.
4. Colonization ventures; their success and failure.
5. Argentine influences on Paraguay since the war.
6. Contemporary government and politics.

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E. Chile:

I. The Dictatorship of O'Higgins:

1. Survival of the personal and political animosities of the Carrera-O'Higgins dispute.
2. Financial difficulties and international complications; the English loan; heavy taxation; the Ministers Zenteno and Rodríguez Aldea; damage caused by the earthquakes of 1819 and 1822.
3. Social and political changes:
 - a. The National Institute and the public library.
 - b. Schools: the experiment with the Lancastrian system.
 - c. Public improvements; sanitation.
 - d. Abolition of titles of nobility; legislation as to the *mayorazgos*.
 - e. Modification of social customs.
 - f. Constitution of 1818; the changes of 1822.
4. The revolution of 1822 and the "abdication" of O'Higgins.

II. The Period of Disorder, 1822-1831:

1. Dictatorship of Freire, 1823-1826; constitution of 1823; financial troubles; ecclesiastical affairs.
2. Trial of federalism; theories of Infante; administration of Pinto; constitution of 1828; revolution of 1829; civil war, 1829-1830; political parties.

III. Establishment of Order and a Conservative Régime (*la república autocrática*):

1. Character and career of Diego Portales; establishment of a civil dictatorship.
2. The war of Portales on the revolutionary spirit.
3. Constitution of 1833; work of Mariano Egaña and M. J. Gandarilla.
4. Influence of Mora, Bello, Gorbea, Blest, Gay (foreigners) and Rengifo, Tocornal, Benavente (native citizens).
5. Administrations of Prieto, 1831-1841:
 - a. Re-election of Prieto and the beginning of the decenniates.
 - b. The war against the Peru-Bolivia confederation; campaigns of Garrido, Blanco Encalada, and Bulnes; battle of Yungay, 1839.
 - c. Death of Portales, 1837.
6. Administrations of Bulnes, 1841-1851:
 - a. Policy of political conciliation; amnesty law.
 - b. Revival of prosperity; shipping and mining industries.
 - c. Intellectual progress; the national university; activities of many distinguished foreigners in Chile.
 - d. Reorganization of political parties; influence of Lastarria and Bilbao.
 - e. Disorders accompanying the election of 1851; official interference.

7. Administrations of Manuel Montt, 1851-1861 :
 - a. Continuation of revolution; battle at Loncomilla, 1851.
 - b. Internal improvements; railway construction; Wheelwright.
 - c. Abolition of the *mayorazgos*; the civil code.
 - d. The Montt-Varas political system; the revolution of 1859; Vicuña Mackenna, Matta, Miguel Luis Amunátegui.
 - e. Uprising of the Araucanian Indians.

IV. The Liberal Republic (*la república liberal*) :

1. Administrations of Pérez, 1861-1871; liberal legislation; Chilean participation in the war between Peru and Spain; Lastarria's resolutions; bombardment of Valparaíso.
2. Frederico Errázuriz, 1871-1876; constitutional amendment, 1874; notable work of Vicuña Mackenna as *Intendente* of Santiago; work of Abdón Cifuentes.
3. Aníbal Pinto, 1876-1881; internal politics during the War of the Pacific; financial crisis and monetary legislation.
4. Santa María, 1881-1886; ecclesiastical reforms and anti-clerical legislation; constitutional and electoral questions.

V. The War of the Pacific, 1879-1884:

1. The northern boundary of Chile in history; rival claims.
2. Discovery and development of guano and nitrate deposits.
3. Immigration of Chileans into disputed areas; Chilean capital invested and energy expended in exploiting deposits; law of 1842; the military demonstrations at Mejillones; early relations of Chile and Bolivia.

4. Treaties relative to control of disputed territory—1866, 1874, 1875; the Peru-Bolivia treaty of alliance, 1873; Argentine interest in the treaty; military and naval preparations of Peru and Chile.
5. Alleged treaty violation by Bolivia; the question of taxes on nitrates; military occupation of Antofagasta; Bolivia declares war against Chile; failure of Peruvian mediation; Peru involved in the war; attitude of Hispanic-American countries.
6. The war on the sea:
 - a. Pre-war preparations; comparative resources.
 - b. Battle of Iquique, 1879; heroism of Arturo Prat; destruction of the *Independencia*.
 - c. The career of Admiral Grau and the *Huáscar*.
 - d. The battle of Angamos (Oct. 8, 1879); control of the sea by Chile.
 - e. Blockades and bombardments; international complications.
7. Campaigns on land:
 - a. Comparative military resources.
 - b. Tarapacá campaign; battle of Dolores (1879); "retreat from Camarones"; incapacity of Prado and Daza; Bolivia passive during remainder of the war.
 - c. Tacna and Arica campaign; battle of Arica (1880); heroism of Bolognesi.
 - d. Attempts at mediation; the conference at Arica.
 - e. The campaign around Lima; battles of Chorillos and Miraflores (1881).
 - f. Occupation of Peru by Chilean forces; guerilla warfare; Cáceres.
8. The peace:
 - a. Further attempts at mediation; policies of the United States—Secretaries Blaine and Frelinghuysen; the Trescott mission.

- b. The treaty of Ancón, 1884.
 - c. Truce with Bolivia.
 - d. Summary of the results of the war.
 - 9. The problem of executing the treaty; the question of Tacna and Arica:
 - a. Relations of Peru and Chile; attempts to reach an agreement through diplomacy; their failure.
 - b. Arbitration of dispute, with President Coolidge as arbiter:
 - (1) The arbitration convention.
 - (2) The "cases" of Chile and Peru.
 - (3) The arbitration award, 1925.
 - 10. Relations of Chile and Bolivia:
 - a. Claims of Bolivia with reference to a sea port; demand to be considered in settlement of dispute between Peru and Chile; proposals.
 - b. The Chile-Bolivia treaty of 1905.
 - c. Bolivia's appeal to the League of Nations.
- VI. Balmaceda and the Civil War, 1886-1891:
- 1. Social, political, economic, and constitutional changes; political ideas of Balmaceda.
 - 2. The civil war, 1891; president *versus* congress; military operations.
 - 3. International relations; the "affairs" of the *Itata* and the *Baltimore*.
 - 4. Reconstruction with Jorge Montt as leader.
- VII. Contemporary History of Chile (*La república democrata*):
- 1. Operation of the parliamentary system.
 - 2. Electoral problems; high cost of elections; irregularities.
 - 3. Government of cities.
 - 4. Economic and fiscal issues.
 - 5. Questions of arbitration of boundary disputes with Argentina.

6. The trans-Andine railroad opened in 1910.
7. The administrations of Montt, Errázuriz, German Riesco, Pedro Montt, Figueroa, Barros Luco, Sanfuentes.
8. The administration of Alessandri:
 - a. The contested election of 1920.
 - b. Social and economic problems; radicalism in Chile; diversification of parties.
 - c. Projects of constitutional reform.
 - d. The crisis of 1924; "resignation" of Alessandri and government of Chile by Military Junta; restoration of Alessandri.
 - e. Contemporary problems in government and society.

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231; Donoso, A., *Bilbao y su tiempo*; Edwards, A., *Bosquejo histórico de los partidos políticos chilenos*; Elliott, G. F. S., *Chile*; Elliott, L. E., *Chile To-day and To-morrow*; Errázuriz, F., *Chile bajo el imperio de la constitución de 1828*; ———, I., *Historia de la administración Errázuriz (1871-1876)*; Galdames, L., *Estudio de la historia de Chile*, 230-431; Guíñazú, H. R., *Balmaceda ó el alma política de un pueblo*; Hancock, A. U., *A History of Chile*, 200-455; Herve, M. H., *Dark Days in Chile*; Macy, J. and J. W. Gannaway, *Comparative Free Government*, 663-672; Mehegan, J. J., *O'Higgins of Chile*; Orrego Vicuña, E., *Espíritu constitucional de la administración O'Higgins*; Parker, W. B., (ed.) *Chileans of To-day*; Reinsch, P. S., "Parliamentary Government in Chile" (*Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Vol. III, 507 *et seq.*); Rodríguez Bravo, J., *Don José Victorino Lastarria*; Salas Edwards, R., *Balmaceda y el parlamentarismo en Chile*; Sotomayor Valdés, R., *Historia de Chile* (4 Vols.); Subercaseaux, G., *Monetary and Banking Policy of Chile*; Vera, R., *Historia de Chile desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestros días* (3 Vols.); Vicuña Mackenna, B., *Don Diego Portales*; ———, *La Historia de la administración Montt*; Vicuña Subercaseaux, B., *El socialismo revolucionario*; Walker Martínez, C., *Portales*; ———, *Historia de la administración Santa María*; Wright, M. R., *The Republic of Chile*. (2) *The War of the Pacific*: Almazora, I., *La cuestión peruano-chilena*; Barros Arana, D., *Historia de la guerra del Pacífico*; Barros Borgoño, L., *Tacna and Arica; the Solution of the Question through its Transfer to Bolivia*; Belaúnde, Víctor Andrés, *Nuestra cuestión con Chile*; Blanlot Holley, A., *Historia de la paz entre Chile y el Perú*; Bulnes, Gonzalo, *La Guerra del Pacífico* (3 Vols.); ———, *Chile and Peru, the Causes of the War of 1879* (Trans. of part of the preceding work); Caivano, Tomás, *Narración histórica de la guerra de Chile con el Perú y Bolivia*; ———, *Historia de la guerra de América entre*

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F. Peru:

1. The presidency of Bolívar; factional rivalries; disorders and petty revolutions; return of Bolívar to Colombia.
2. Presidency of La Mar; war with Colombia; intervention in Bolivia; deposition of La Mar, 1829.
3. Government of Gamarra; continued disorders and civil war; Bermúdez and Orbegoso; dictatorship of Salaverry.
4. The Peru-Bolivia Confederation, 1835-1839; ideas of Santa Cruz; his administration in Peru; the Chilean intervention; Argentine participation; battle of Yungay, 1839; dissolution of the confederation.
5. Second presidency of Gamarra; war with Bolivia; battle of Ingavi, 1841; troubles with Ecuador.
6. Civil war, 1842-1844.
7. The era of Ramón Castilla, 1845-1854, 1855-1863:
 - a. Domestic policies and achievements; promotion of immigration; internal improvements; finances and the debt.

- b. Relations with Ecuador.
- c. The interlude of Echenique.
- d. Abolition of Indian tribute and of Negro slavery.
- e. Revolution of Vivanco and the interposition of England and France.
- f. War with Ecuador.
- g. Constitution of 1860.
- 8. San Román, Canseco, Pezet, Prado; the war with Spain; "Dos de Mayo, 1866."
- 9. Peruvian finances; foreign loans; railway construction; President Balta.
- 10. The *Civil* party; President Pardo; continued revolutions; financial crisis; legislation concerning the nitrates of Tarapacá; treaty with Bolivia, 1873.
- 11. New government of Prado; the war with Chile (see *Chile*); the case of Peru; government changes during the war, 1879-1884.
- 12. Civil war; the period of Cáceres; the "Peruvian Corporation."
- 13. The leadership of Piérola, 1895-1903.
- 14. The civilists: Candamo and José Pardo, 1903-1908.
- 15. Augusto B. Leguía, 1908-1912, 1919-:
 - a. Vigorous leadership; governmental, constitutional, educational, economic changes.
 - b. Intervening governments; Billinghurst, Benavides, Pardo.
 - c. Foreign policies.
- 16. Efforts of Peru to secure fulfilment of the Treaty of Ancón; arbitration of the Tacna-Arica dispute before President Coolidge.
- 17. Summary of legislation respecting the Indians; social problems of Peru.
- 18. The position of foreigners in Peru.
- 19. Contemporary government and politics.

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G. Bolivia:

1. Origin and establishment of the Republic of Bolivia; Congress of Chuquisaca; Sucre as provisional president.
2. The Bolívar constitution, 1826; administration of Sucre; his retirement.

3. The interlude; Blanco in power.
4. The Dictatorship of Santa Cruz, 1829-1839:
 - a. Personal rule; governmental practices.
 - b. Santa Cruz' ideal of a confederation.
 - c. The Peru-Bolivia confederation, 1836-1839; its adversaries; war with Chile, 1837-1839.
 - d. Estimate of Santa Cruz.
5. Turbulent period of Velasco, 1839-1841.
6. The Government of Ballivián, 1841-1847:
 - a. War with Peru; battle of Yngavi, 1841; mediation of Chile.
 - b. Development of commerce.
 - c. Enlightened despotism.
7. Dictatorship of Belzú; political degeneration.
8. Cordoba (1855-1857); Linares (1857); Achá (1858-1864); Melgarejo (1864-1871); Morales (1871-1873).
9. Frias and Adolfo Ballivián.
10. Daza and the "War of the Pacific" (see *Chile*).
11. Campero (1880-1884); Pacheco (1884-1888); Acre (1888-1892); Baptista and Alonzo, (1892-1899).
12. The dominance of the Liberal party:
 - a. Pando; construction of railways; sale of the Acre territory.
 - b. The administrations of Montes (1904-1908; 1912-1916), "the great president":
 - (1) Foreign relations: treaty of peace with Chile; treaty of commerce and customs with Peru.
 - (2) Railway construction.
 - (3) Administrative reorganization.
 - c. Villazón, 1908-1912.
 - d. Gutiérrez Guerra; Bolivia's claims to an outlet on the Pacific reasserted; peaceful revolution of 1920.
 - e. The presidency of Saavedra; the loan and relations with United States; the appeal to the League of Nations.

13. Contemporary problems in government and politics.

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H. Ecuador:

1. Dissolution of the Granadine confederacy; foundation of Ecuador.
2. The period of Flores (1830-1835; 1839-1845) and Rocafuerte, 1835-1839.
3. The clergy in politics; Roca (1845-1849); civil war.
4. Noboa, Urbina (1852-1859); abolition of Negro slavery.

5. War with Peru ; anarchy ; rise of García Moreno.
6. Dictatorship of García Moreno.
 - a. Reforms in taxation and administration ; public improvements.
 - b. Church politics and influence ; legislation concerning Church and faith.
 - c. Attitude toward Europe.
 - d. Intermediate governments of Carrión and Espinosa ; foundation of Universities of Cuenca and Guayaquil.
7. Borrero ; Cordero and the resumption of powers by the clericals ; Veintemilla and the liberals ; Caamaño and Flores, 1884-1892 ; "radical" dominance.
8. The period of Alfaro ; anti-clerical legislation ; secularization of education ; relations with Perú respecting boundary ; arbitration before the King of Spain ; work of Rendón ; railway construction.
9. Contemporary government and politics ; problems of sanitation.

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I. Venezuela:

1. Separation from Colombia 1830; congress and constitution of Valencia.
2. Ascendancy of General Páez, 1830-1846:
 - a. Character of the dictatorship of Páez.
 - b. The experiment with a civilian president, Vargas, in 1834; his deposition and the triumph of militarism in politics.
 - c. The Soublette administrations.
 - d. Páez dominant, though not always in office; formation of Liberal party.
 - e. Election of 1846; success of J. T. Monagas; elimination of Páez.
3. The Monagas brothers in power, 1846-1858; their methods, policies and achievements.
4. Federalism tried, 1858-1868:
 - a. Civil war; many changes in presidents.
 - b. Return of Páez to the country and, for a brief period, to power.
 - c. Administration of Falcón; rise of Guzmán Blanco; the revolution led by J. T. Monagas.
5. The period of Guzmán Blanco, 1870-1889:
 - a. Methods of control; occupation of the presidency in alternating periods.
 - b. Efforts to stimulate progress in civilization.
 - c. Fiscal reforms; internal improvements.
6. The administration of Rojas Paúl, civilian.
7. Crespo and Andrade, 1892-1899; the *revolución legalista*; constitutional changes.
8. The Venezuelan boundary dispute:

- a. The Guiana boundary in history; diplomatic relations with Great Britain.
- b. Appeal of Venezuela to the United States on basis of the Monroe Doctrine; relations of the United States and Great Britain.
- c. Arbitration of the dispute and the settlement.
9. Dictatorship of Castro, 1899-1907.
10. The second Venezuela crisis; blockade of La Guaira and Puerto Cabello by British, German, and Italian warships; interposition of the United States; arbitration.
11. "National rehabilitation" under President Gómez, 1908-1926:
 - a. Constitutions of 1909 and 1914.
 - b. Encouragement of commerce, industry, and immigration; internal improvements.
 - c. Márquez Bustillos as acting president, 1914-1922, under guidance of Gómez; resumption of presidency by Gómez, 1922.
 - d. Contemporary issues and problems.

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J. Colombia:

1. Great Colombia (*La Gran Colombia*), Bolívar's confederation:
 - a. Absence of Bolívar, 1822-1826; Santander and Páez.
 - b. Relations of Bolívar with Santander and Páez.
 - c. Operation of the constitutions of Angostura and Cucutá; sectionalism in the confederation.
 - d. Charges against Páez, 1825; he is made virtually independent governor of Venezuela; significance of this affair.
 - e. Return of Bolívar; his difficulties; agitation for a monarchy; the dictatorship and its failure.
 - f. Death of Bolívar—disillusioned and, among many, discredited; assassination of Sucre.
 - g. Separation of Venezuela and Ecuador from the confederation, with subsequent division of the debt.
2. New Granada, with Santander as leader; programme of constructive reforms; secessionist tendencies; legislation respecting the Church.

3. Márquez; civil war over status of the Church; Conservatives and Liberals.
4. The Herrán-Mosquera régime; Conservative victories; restoration of the Jesuits; constitutional changes; the treaty of 1846 with the United States.
5. The Liberal success of 1849; expulsion of the Jesuits, abolition of slavery, universal suffrage, public education under secular control, and other radical reforms; constitutional changes in interest of decentralization.
6. Civil wars, 1852-1858; the Granadine Confederation (1858).
7. Renewal of the Mosquera rule—now Liberal; "United States of Colombia" (1861); anti-clerical legislation; economic policies; analysis of the dictatorship, 1861-1867.
8. Administrations of Salgar, Murillo Toro, and Pérez, 1870-1876; civil war, 1875-1876; administrations of Parra and Trujillo.
9. The period of Rafael Núñez, 1879-1894.
 - a. His change from moderate Liberalism to Conservatism; triumph of the Church.
 - b. Ideas of Núñez as to the needs of the state.
 - c. The constitution of 1886; the Concordat of 1887.
10. Caro, Sanclemente, Marroquín, 1894-1903; continuation of bitter politico-religious wars.
11. Colombia and the Isthmian canal; relations with the United States concerning the treaty of 1846; canal concessions; the Hay-Herrán treaty and its rejection by Colombia; the Panama revolution.
12. The Colombian grievance against the United States; efforts to obtain reparation; relations with the Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Harding administrations; ratification of the Thompson-Urrutia Treaty, 1921.
13. Dictatorship of General Reyes, 1904-1909.
14. The constitution of 1910; administration of Restrepo, 1910-1914.

15. Concha, Fidel Suárez, Jorge Holguin, Nel Ospina.
16. The financial mission invited from the United States; its achievements.
17. Contemporary political and cultural tendencies; political passions less virulent; position of the Church in recent times.

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K. Panama and the Panama Canal:

1. Panama and Colombia; secessionist tendencies in Panamanian history.
2. Plans for the construction of an isthmian canal; possible routes; treaties and concessions; history of the treaty of 1846.
3. The French enterprise; failure and scandals.
4. The United States and the canal:
 - a. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty; treaties with Nicaragua.
 - b. Opinion in the United States; views of Grant, Hayes, and Blaine; attitude of the United States government toward the French project.
 - c. Influences of the Spanish-American War upon the United States; investigations of canal routes.
 - d. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.
5. Negotiations with Colombia for a canal concession:
 - a. Selection of the Panama route; proposed purchase of the French company's rights and equipment.
 - b. The Hay-Herrán Treaty.
 - c. Rejection of the treaty by Colombia; the controversy as to causes and motives.
6. The Panama revolution:
 - a. The story of the revolution; controversy as to its initiation.
 - b. Action of the United States; interpretation of the treaty of 1846; interposition of the United States; success of the revolution.
 - c. Recognition of Panama by the United States.
 - d. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty.
7. The Colombian grievance; relations of Panama and Colombia; Panama and the problem of reparation.

8. Construction of the canal, 1904-1915; economic and political influences of the canal.
9. Relations of the United States and Panama.
10. Panamanian constitution and government.
11. Political history of Panama; problems in government, finances, sanitation, social relations.

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PART II—HISPANIC NORTH AMERICAN STATES

A. Mexico:

I. The first empire:

1. Iturbide (Agustín I) ; character and difficulties.
2. Political and financial policies.
3. Struggle over the constitution.
4. Santa Anna and the *Plan de Casa Mata*; fall of the empire.

II. The republic, 1823-1846:

1. The constitution of 1824.
2. Contest of the federalists and the unitarists.
3. The provisional government; death of Iturbide.
4. Administration of Guadalupe Victoria:
 - a. Capture of San Juan de Ulúa, 1825.
 - b. Persecution of Spaniards.
 - c. The Masonic factions (*Yorkinos* and *Escoceses*); Poinsett.
 - d. Election of 1828.
5. Civil wars; variations in form of government; ascendancy of Santa Anna:
 - a. The federalist régime:
 - (1) The contested succession; Pedraza and Guerrero.
 - (2) The Spanish attack 1829.
 - (3) Social reforms; anti-slavery and land laws.
 - (4) *Plan de Jalapa*; overthrow and death of Guerrero.
 - (5) Presidency of Bustamante; centralist changes; monarchist sentiments; rebellion of Santa Anna; resignation of Bustamante (1832); restoration of Pedraza.

- (6) Presidency of Santa Anna; presidential vacations with Gómez Farías as acting president; changes in "party" affiliation of Santa Anna; reforms of Gómez Farías.
 - b. The centralist régime :
 - (1) Dictatorship of Santa Anna; constitutional changes of 1835-1836 (the *Siete Leyes* and the *Leyes Constitucionales*).
 - (2) Acting presidents.
 - c. Administration of Bustamante, 1837-1841; war with France—"victory" of Santa Anna; rebellions and civil wars; Mejía, Paredes, Santa Anna; overthrow of Bustamante.
 - d. Despotism of Santa Anna, 1841-1845; *Junta de Notables*; constitution of 1843; arbitrary government and corruption; banishment of Santa Anna.
- III. The question of Texas and the war with the United States :
- 1. The Texas war of independence :
 - a. Settlement of Texas by colonists under *empresarios*; social and political conditions.
 - b. Causes of the rebellion of 1835.
 - c. Texas declaration of independence, March 2, 1836.
 - d. The war; fall of the Alamo, Goliad massacre; battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836.
 - e. Analysis of controversies, thought and interpretation in respect of the independence of Texas.
 - f. Refusal of Mexico to recognize the independence of Texas; continuation of the war in form of sporadic frontier engagements; Texas as a question of Mexican politics.
 - 2. The war with the United States :
 - a. Relations of the United States and Mexico, 1829-1845.

- b. The Texas boundary dispute.
- c. Electoral campaign in the United States of 1844; annexation of Texas by United States.
- d. The war: campaigns of Taylor, Scott, and Kearney, conduct of the war by Mexico.
- e. Politics in Mexico during the war; Paredes, Bravo, Salas, Santa Anna, Gómez Farías, Anaya, Peña y Peña.
- f. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848.

IV. Presidential changes, 1848-1855:

- 1. Herrera, Arista, Ceballos, Lombardini, Santa Anna.
- 2. Abuses of Santa Anna's last period of power.
- 3. Sale of the Mesilla valley (The Gadsden Purchase).
- 4. The *Plan de Ayutla*.

V. The War of the Reform:

- 1. Political parties: conservatives, liberals, clericals, centralists; variety in political theory.
- 2. Leading personalities: Alvarez, Comonfort, Juárez, Lerdo, Miramón, Zuluaga.
- 3. The constitution of 1857; anti-clerical legislation.
- 4. Rebellion of the church; *Plan de Tacubaya*; formation of two governments.
- 5. The "War of the Reform"; campaigns and final success of the "constitutionalists" (Juárez government).
- 6. Diplomatic relations; attitude of the United States; McLane-Ocampo treaty.
- 7. The "Reform laws."
- 8. Presidential succession in the conservative government; Zuluaga (two periods), Pezuela, Pavón (two periods), Miramón (three periods); Miramón seizes funds under British seal.
- 9. Summary of results of the period.

VI. Foreign intervention and the second empire:

- 1. Causes of the intervention; Convention of London, 1861; alliance of France, Great Britain and Spain.

2. Military intervention; clarification of motives of intervening powers; the conference at Orizaba; withdrawal of Great Britain and Spain.
3. French invasion of Mexico; *Cinco de Mayo* (battle of Puebla); Yrágosa and Díaz; Marshal Forey and French successes; occupation of Mexico City.
4. Establishment of the empire:
 - a. The *Junta Superior de Gobierno* and the *Asamblea de Notables* offer the imperial crown to Maximilian, 1863; coronation, April 10, 1864.
 - b. Character and policy of new government; political and financial difficulties.
 - c. Resistance of Juárez and Díaz; guerilla warfare; Lew Wallace's raid.
 - d. Policy of the United States during and after the Civil War.
 - e. Withdrawal of the French troops; collapse of the empire; capture and execution of Maximilian (1867).
 - f. Causes of the fall of the empire.

VII. Restoration of the Republic.

1. Administration of Juárez; efforts at reconstruction; disorders and intensification of brigandage; re-election and death of Juárez.
2. Rebellion of Díaz; *Plan de la Noria*.
3. Administration of Lerdo de Tejada; constitutional changes.

VIII. The Era of Díaz:

1. Revolution of 1876 and election of Díaz as president.
2. First administration; principle of no re-election.
3. The González interlude, 1880-1884.
4. Díaz successively re-elected, 1884-1910.
5. Analysis of the Díaz policies:

- a. Establishment of order; work of the *rurales*; political executions; the *ley fuga*.
 - b. The assistants of Díaz; the *científicos*; the *jefes políticos*.
 - c. Financial reforms; prosperity and credit; foreign investments; concessions.
 - d. Agrarian and industrial legislation; railway construction.
 - e. Improvements in education; social reforms.
 - f. Constitutional changes.
 - g. Díaz as statesman, administrator, and autocrat; decay of his system.
6. Diplomatic relations, especially with the United States.

IX. The Contemporary Social and Political Revolution, 1910-1920:

1. Political, social, economic, and personal causes; the "Creelman interview," 1908; personal ambitions as to the succession.
2. The contested election of 1910.
3. Career and ideas of Francisco I. Madero; the *Plan de San Luis de Potosí*; beginning and growth of rebellion against Díaz.
4. Political, military, and diplomatic aspects of the rebellion which terminated with the capture of Juárez and the resignation of Díaz, May 25, 1911.
5. The Madero period, 1911-1913.
 - a. Character of Madero; incapacity as executive.
 - b. Non-fulfilment of promises; revolutions by Reyes, Orozco, Zapata, and Felix Díaz.
 - c. The "Ten Tragic Days"; ending with the deposition and assassination of Madero; assumption of power by General Huerta.
6. The Huerta government:
 - a. Character of Huerta; legal title to office; govern-

ment stigmatized by suspicion of responsibility for Madero's death.

- b. Policies of the Huerta government.
 - c. Resistance to Huerta; Plan of Guadalupe.
7. Relations of the United States and Mexico, 1911-1915.
- a. Policies of United States during the Taft administration as to neutrality, arms, injuries to citizens.
 - b. Question of recognizing Huerta bequeathed to Wilson.
 - c. Wilson's Mexican and Hispanic-American policies.
 - d. The United States as a factor in the revolutions in Mexico; Wilson's efforts at settlement and their failure; "watchful waiting."
8. Elimination of Huerta: severance of relations between United States and Huerta; the Vera Cruz expedition; the Niagara Conference; activities of the "Constitutionalists"; resignation of Huerta.
9. The Carranza or Villa period:
- a. Carranza as *de facto* president.
 - b. The breach between Carranza and Villa; the Convention at Aguascalientes.
 - c. Renewal of civil war; many-sided struggle; Carranza, Obregón, Villa, Zapata; confusing number of claimants of the presidency.
 - d. Distressing position of foreigners in Mexico; prospects of intervention.
 - e. Diplomatic intervention by the United States and six Hispanic-American powers.
 - f. Recognition of Carranza.
 - g. Villa's frontier raids; punitive expedition from United States under General Pershing; crisis in diplomatic relations between United States and Mexico.

- h. The New London Conference; withdrawal of United States troops from Mexico.
 - i. The constitution of 1917.
 - j. The revolution of 1920 and the death of Carranza.
10. Administration of Obregón:
- a. Land and petroleum problems; later questions of recognition as determined by the Harding and Coolidge administrations.
 - b. Communism in Mexico; labor and agrarian problems; social legislation.
 - c. Mexican finances; loans and credit; public debt.
 - d. The revolution of 1924; succession of General Calles.

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B. Central America—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador:

1. Central America as a geographic concept; the people; resources; sectionalism.
2. Independence and federation; the constitution of 1824:
 - a. Administration of Arce, 1824-1826; formation of parties.
 - b. Dictatorship of Morazán, 1826-1839:
 - (1) Liberal attack on the Church.
 - (2) Civil wars; Barrundia.
 - (3) Overthrow of Morazán; disruption of the confederacy.
3. Projects of union in later history: 1842, 1848, 1852, 1862, 1872, 1876, 1887, 1889, 1895, 1897, 1921.

4. Political history, 1839-1926:
 - a. Dictatorship in Guatemalan history; Carrera, Barrios, Estrada Cabrera; Guatemalan interventions in Central American affairs.
 - b. William Walker in Central America.
 - c. Political progress in Costa Rica; in Salvador; political history of Honduras and Nicaragua.
5. Central America and canal ventures.
6. The problem of the Mosquito Coast; Great Britain and the United States; the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; subsequent negotiations and settlement.
7. Governmental and interstate problems:
 - a. Central American revolutions.
 - b. The harboring of political refugees; revolutions prepared on foreign soil; interventions.
 - c. Dictators in Central American history.
 - d. Government finance and foreign complications.
8. The peace conference of 1907; influence of the United States and Mexico; establishment and composition of the Central American court of justice and arbitration; its history.
9. The United States and Nicaragua; intervention and the maintenance in Nicaragua of a "legation guard"; the treaty of 1916.
10. Disruption of the court; the case against Nicaragua, 1917.
11. Contemporary social and political conditions.

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C. The Insular Republics:

A. Cuba.

I. Spanish Administration in Cuba during the 19th century.

1. Political system in the Captaincy-General.
2. Cuba and the Hispanic-American struggles for independence; the "ever-faithful isle"; operation of the Constitution of 1812 in Cuba; despotism and the *Soles de Bolívar*; misrule in Cuba.
3. Spanish policy and practice in respect of political order, graft, political reforms, slavery, commerce, conciliation—its successes and failure.

II. Cuba in Diplomacy, 1820-1868.

1. Interests of the United States, Great Britain, and France; projects of annexation, doctrines of "No transfer," "Manifest destiny," and "Paramount

interest" as applied to Cuba.

2. Filibusters; Narciso López.
3. The "Black Warrior" incident; the Ostend Manifesto, 1854.

III. The Ten Years War, 1868-1878.

1. Causes of the revolt; Cuban declaration of independence; resistance of Spain; Prim, Cánovas.
2. Relations of the United States and Spain; the "Virginius" affair; the United States and the Cuban insurgents.
3. Céspedes, Quesada, Maceo, García, Martí.
4. Proposals of compromise; treaty of El Zanjón, 1878; influence of Martínez Campos.
5. Cuba after the peace; the treaty fulfilled only in part; taxation and industry; brief period of prosperity due mainly to reciprocity clause in tariff law of the United States.

IV. Revolution of 1895 and Independence.

1. Failure of Spanish government to fulfil pledges; Cuban discontent; economic depression; activities of Martí.
2. The revolt; immediate causes; Máximo Gómez; García.
3. Administration of General Weyler; the "reconcentration" policy.
4. Activities of the Cuban *junta* in the United States.
5. Interest of the United States in Cuba; policy of Cleveland and McKinley; protests against Spanish practices.
6. The destruction of the "Maine."
7. The Spanish-American War, 1898; the Cubans and the United States.
8. The treaty of peace; status of Cuba.

V. Military occupation of Cuba by the United States, 1899-1902.

1. Services of General Wood.
2. Progress of the island: order, sanitation and health; social condition; public improvements; education; finances and industries.
3. The constitutional convention; political parties.
4. The Platt amendment.
5. Investments of citizens of the United States.

VI. Republican Government in Cuba.

1. Withdrawal of troops of United States.
2. Administration of Estrada Palma.
3. Intervention of the United States, 1906-1909; policies of Governor Magoon; Cuban criticism.
4. Administrations of José Miguel Gómez and Menocal.
5. Diplomatic, political and economic relations with the United States.
6. Electoral problems.
7. Administration of Zayas; influence of General Crowder.
8. The Isle of Pines settlement.
9. The problem of self-government in Cuba.

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B. Haiti and Santo Domingo :

1. Monarchy and republicanism in Haiti and Santo Domingo.
2. Social and racial problems; anti-white legislation in Haiti.
3. Union and separation—1795-1814, 1821-1844; final separation, 1844.

4. Political conditions; character of political revolutions.
5. Political history of Haiti; Toussaint l'Ouverture; Dessalines; Christophe, Pétion, Boyer, Soulouque; foreigners in Haiti; foreign obligations; contemporary increase in number and violence of revolutions.
6. Political history of Santo Domingo:
 - a. The first republic; Duarte, Santana, Báez.
 - b. Restoration of Spanish rule, 1861-1865.
 - c. The second republic; revolutions and dictatorships; annexation or protectorship schemes; Báez, Heu-reaux, Jiménez, Cáceres, *etc.*
 - d. Boundary dispute with Haiti; wars between the two countries.
8. International relations:
 - a. Insular finances; loans and claims.
 - b. Interventions and threats of intervention.
 - c. The crisis of 1904 in Dominican finances; relations with the United States; the *modus vivendi*, 1904, and the treaty of 1907; investigation and revision of the indebtedness of Santo Domingo.
 - d. Economic and political crisis of 1915; treaty proposals; intervention of the United States; military government, 1916-1922; character and results of the intervention.
 - e. Haitian relations with the United States: the treaty of 1915 following the political crisis and intervention; tri-partite government in Haiti; financial, political, and constitutional results of the influence of the United States.
 - f. Restoration of Dominican rule.
9. Contemporary government and politics.

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NOTES

IX

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

I. Questions as to Territorial Status:

1. The principle of *uti possedetis juris de 1810*.
2. Boundary disputes between Hispanic-American states; territorial status of Brazil.
3. Arbitration as a means of settlement of boundary disputes.
4. Other means of settlement; pending disputes.

II. International Wars in Hispanic-American History:

1. The question of Uruguay; Argentina *versus* Brazil, 1826-1828.
2. Chile against the Peru-Bolivia confederation.
3. The Paraguayan War, 1864-1870.
4. Armed conflicts between Ecuador and Peru.
5. The War of the Pacific, 1879-1884.
6. Inter-state war in Central America.
7. Haiti-Santo Domingo conflicts.
8. Filibustering expeditions and reprisals.

III. Ideals and Projects of Political or Diplomatic Union of Hispanic-American States:

1. Proposals for a league of states of Spanish origin (Pan Spanish-Americanism).
2. Proposals which included Brazil in such a league (Pan Hispanic-Americanism).
3. Congresses of Hispanic-American states: Panama (1826); Lima (1848, 1864, 1897); Santiago de Chile (1856); Rio de Janiero (1887).
4. Programmes of arbitration; proposals for the codification of an international law for the Americas.
5. Peace and arbitration treaties between Hispanic-American states.

6. Control of river commerce; international rivers.

7. Contemporary movement of Pan Hispanism.

IV. Hispanic-American Relations with Europe:

1. Diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations.

2. Examples of European intervention in Hispanic-American affairs: Spain in Mexico, 1829; France and Great Britain at Buenos Aires and Montevideo (from time to time, 1839-1851); Great Britain in the establishment of the independence of Uruguay; France, Spain and Great Britain in Mexico, 1862; France in Mexico, 1862-1867; Spain in the Dominican republic and in Peru; Germany, Great Britain, and Italy in Venezuela, 1902.

3. Hispanic-American use of European rulers and statesmen as arbiters.

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V. Recognition in Hispanic-American History and in inter-American Relations:

1. Changes in the policy and theory of the United States as to recognition.
2. Use and non-use of recognition as an indirect means of intervention; recognition of only such governments as are established in accordance with the "orderly processes of constitutional government."
3. Hispanic-American ideas and practices as to recognition.

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VI. Relations with the United States, 1826-1926:

A. The Monroe Doctrine:

1. Definitions, interpretations and opinions as to the nature and meaning of the Monroe Doctrine:
 - a. Disputes as to the origin of the doctrine.
 - b. Variety in definitions.
 - c. Has the doctrine ever been enforced?
 - d. Has the doctrine undergone transformation or expansion, or suffered modification, since the Monroe declaration of 1823?
 - e. Is the doctrine international law?

- f. Has the doctrine guided and controlled the foreign policies of the United States or, on the contrary, has it had nothing to do with the determination of international relations? Have the determining factors been the national interests, the power of the United States, and public sentiment?
- g. Is the doctrine a guarantee, involving automatic action, against European colonization or intervention?
2. Efforts at constructive definition; the Monroe Doctrine regarded as:
 - a. A unilateral declaration of policy.
 - b. A sentiment of hemispheric solidarity.
 - c. An ideal of human and national liberty.
 - d. A regional understanding.
 - e. A principle of self-defence.
 - f. A presidential asseveration—"His words have only the weight of the facts they express and the value of the opinions they enunciate."
 - g. A *doctrine*—a way of thinking about inter-American relations.
3. History of the Monroe Doctrine:
 - a. The Adams-Clay period; opinions of Adams and Webster; discussions in the Senate, 1825-1826, as to the meaning of the Monroe declaration of 1823.
 - b. The Monroe Doctrine neglected; Jackson and Van Buren.
 - c. Revival of official interest in the doctrine; opinions of Polk and Calhoun.
 - d. The doctrine in the period 1850-1868; views of Pierce, Douglas, Cass, and Seward:
 - (1) The doctrine and expansion.
 - (2) The doctrine and the French intervention in Mexico.
 - (3) The war between Spain and Chile; Lastarria's resolutions.

- e. The period 1868-1895; opinions of Grant, Fish, Hayes, Blaine:
 - (1) Adherence to the doctrine affirmed by both of the leading political parties in the United States.
 - (2) The doctrine and the proposed interoceanic canals.
 - f. The Venezuela crises: opinions of Cleveland and Olney; Roosevelt and Hay.
 - g. The doctrine and the Caribbean interests of the United States.
 - h. The contemporary period: opinions of Taft, Knox, Lodge, Wilson, Lansing, and Hughes:
 - (1) The doctrine and the League of Nations.
 - (2) The hundredth anniversary of the Monroe message of 1823.
 - i. The doctrine in the Congress of the United States:
 - (1) The Clay resolutions of 1824.
 - (2) The legislation of 1895.
 - (3) The Lodge resolutions of 1912.
 - j. The doctrine in literary and academic opinion in the United States; views of scholars, jurists, and diplomats.
4. Hispanic-American opinion of the Monroe Doctrine: Alberdi, Alvarez, Bonilla, Bulnes, Cárdenas, Caraballo y Sotolongo, Calvo, Céspedes, Drago, Brum, Ferrer de Couto, Garland, García Calderón, García Mérou, Lastarria, Ernesto Quesada, Carlos Pereyra, Rio Branco, Prado, Oliveira Lima, Seijas, Uriarte, Urrutia, etc.
5. European views of the Monroe Doctrine.
6. Other doctrines akin to the Monroe Doctrine:
- a. The Drago Doctrine:
 - (1) Opinion of Calvo as to the forcible collection of debts.

- (2) The doctrine of Drago asserted on the occasion of the second Venezuela crisis of 1902.
- (3) Reaction of the United States.
- (4) Action of the Second Hague Conference on the matter of the collection of international debts, 1907; the Porter doctrine.
- (5) The Tobar Doctrine.

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B. Territorial Expansion of the United States; the Course of Empire:

1. Is the Monroe Doctrine a cloak for the imperial ambitions of the United States?
2. Absence of a self-denying ordinance in the Monroe message of 1823.
3. View that the expansion of the United States has no necessary relation to the doctrine, and that it occurred in response to the national interests of the country.
4. Survey of history of the territorial expansion of the United States, as a phase of inter-American relations:
 - a. The Louisiana Purchase; West and East Florida; Texas; Oregon; territory acquired from Mexico by war and purchase; Alaska; Tutuila; the Hawaiian islands; Porto Rico and the Philippines; Panama Canal zone; the Virgin islands; naval bases and coaling stations.
 - b. Past projects for the acquisition of Cuba.
 - c. The manifest destiny doctrine.
 - d. Alleged project for the acquisition of the Galapagos Islands.
 - e. Instances of failure to acquire though opportunity might have existed: Lobos Islands; Yucatan; Santo Domingo; Samoa.
5. Attribution of imperialist designs to the United States, grown to be the great "Colossus of the North."
6. Economic expansion of the United States: Growth in wealth, manufactures, exports, investments in foreign countries.
7. Territorial expansion of certain Hispanic-American states.

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C. Headship of the United States in the Americas—the Policy of Regulation:

1. Intervention as an outward and nearly always visible manifestation of headship.
2. The doctrine of intervention in modern international relations and law.
3. Forms of intervention:
 - a. For the restoration and maintenance of order; protection of life and property.
 - b. For the prevention of filibustering.
 - c. For the holding of elections.
 - d. For the administration of government.
 - e. For the establishment of a native constabulary under United States direction and officers.
 - f. For the settlement of boundary disputes.
 - g. For the rendering of assistance in the formation of a species of federation of republics under tutelage.
 - h. Intervention by means of mediation; the granting or withholding of recognition.
4. Headship in economic matters:
 - a. Rehabilitation of finances.
 - b. Action as receiver of customs and revenues of several states.
 - c. Limitation of amount of indebtedness which certain states may incur.
 - d. Protection of economic interests.
 - e. Blocking through diplomacy of certain concessions and grants to non-Americans.

- f. Action as a chief lending power ; terms of credit.
- 5. Political leadership :
 - a. Establishment of two republics.
 - b. Encouragement and enforcement of arbitration.
 - c. Extent of control in certain quasi-protectorates.
 - d. Control of many of the Pan American activities.
- 6. Humanitarian service ; health and sanitation work.
- 7. Extension of commercial, industrial, and financial relations.
- 8. Cultural and institutional influences.
- 9. Practical application of policies of headship a matter of executive determination in the main ; the executive of the United States often faces Congress with a *fait accompli*.
- 10. Primary basis of headship : the disparity between the United States and the Hispanic-American countries in wealth, population, resources, fighting capacity, naval and military strength, reserve power, governmental stability.
- 11. Regional differentiation in policies of headship due to differences in the incidence of national interests :
 - a. The Caribbean sphere ; approaches to the Panama Canal.
 - b. Mexico.
 - c. South America—south of the Equator.
- 12. History of the practice of headship, 1881-1925 :
 - a. In the War of the Pacific.
 - b. Announcement of doctrine of "paramount interest" in connection with canal construction projects.
 - c. Intervention in the blockade of Rio de Janiero by Admirals Mello and da Gama, 1893.
 - d. Headship, intervention, and protection in Cuba.
 - e. Intervention in Santo Domingo and Haiti ; administration and occupation.
 - f. Participation in the affairs of Central America.

- g. Mexico as a problem of headship.
- h. Summary of contemporary activities of the United States in Hispanic America.
- 13. Analysis of opinion as to the moral aspects of the exercise of regulative powers by the United States,—political, juridical, academic.
- 14. Modifications and variations in programme of headship:
 - a. Restoration of self-government in Santo Domingo, 1922.
 - b. Withdrawal of the legation guard from Nicaragua.
 - c. Acceptance of mediation of Hispanic-American countries in relations with Mexico.
 - d. Uncertainty as to the exercise of powers of headship; national interests and public sentiment as criteria of activity or non-activity on part of the government of the United States.
- 15. Hispanic-American and European opinion as to headship.

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D. Pan Americanism—A Sentiment of Coöperation and Friendship:

1. Evolution of Pan Americanism:
 - a. Early advocates of international coöperation: Rozas, O'Higgins, Ayos, Cecilio del Valle, Bolívar, Cruz Cabuga, Monteagudo, Henry Clay.
 - b. Congresses of Spanish-American or Hispanic American states.
 - c. Movement for the codification of international law for the Americas; Alberdi and others.
 - d. The ideas of Blaine.
 - e. Scope and content of Pan Americanism.
2. The Pan American Union:
 - a. The invitation for a conference of American states, 1881; its withdrawal.
 - b. Renewal of the invitation, 1888.
 - c. The first conference, Washington, 1889-1890; formation of The International Union of American Republics; establishment of a "Bureau" at Washington; work of the Conference.
 - d. Subsequent reorganizations of the bureau and the Union, 1896, 1899, 1902, 1906, 1910; adoption of the style "Pan American Union."
 - e. Administrations of the directors: Curtis, Furbish, Smith, Emory, Rockhill, Fox, Barrett, and Rowe; institutional organization of the Union.
 - f. Practical and constructive work of the Union.
3. The later conferences: Mexico City (1902), Rio de Janiero (1906), Buenos Aires (1910), Santiago de Chile (1922); treaties proposed and adopted.
4. Inter-American financial congresses, Washington (1915); Buenos Aires (1916); and Washington (1920).
5. Scientific congresses: Buenos Aires (1898), Montevideo (1901), Rio de Janiero (1905), Santiago de Chile (1908), Washington (1916), Lima (1924).

6. Other congresses, conferences, and associations.

7. Adversaries and critics of Pan Americanism.

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E. Mediation and Arbitration; Inter-American diplomatic Disputes:

1. Mediation :

- a. The Franco-Argentine dispute, 1838.
- b. Mediation offered between Urquiza and Province of Buenos Aires, 1859.
- c. Offer of mediation among contestants during the Paraguayan war.
- d. The conflict between Spain and Chile, Peru, Ecuador.
- e. The War of the Pacific.
- f. Hispanic-American mediation in conflict between the United States and Mexico.
- g. Mediation in Central American affairs, 1906.

2. Arbitration :

- a. Boundary disputes :
 - (1) Argentina and Paraguay, 1876.
 - (2) Guatemala and Mexico.
 - (3) Argentina and Chile.
 - (4) Argentina and Brazil, 1889-1895.
 - (5) Costa Rica and Nicaragua, 1896; Costa Rica and Panama, 1914.

- b. Claims: The Cerutti claim, 1897.
- c. Land ownership: The Tacna-Arica problem, 1925.
- 3. Disputes between the United States and Hispanic-American states:
 - a. Injuries to citizens of the United States:
 - (1) The affair at Rio de Janiero, 1845.
 - (2) The Oliver case, 1856.
 - (3) The Santos claim; action of Cleveland.
 - (4) The dispute with Paraguay concerning E. A. Hopkins.
 - b. Damages to property:
 - (1) Dispute with Brazil over seizure of ships, 1827.
 - (2) The Alsop claim.
 - (3) Claims and counter claims; claims against Santa Domingo, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Mexico, Salvador, etc.
 - c. The Pious Fund dispute with Mexico.
 - d. Territorial disputes:
 - (1) With Mexico: interpretation of treaties making land cessions; navigation and riparian rights as to Rio Grande river.
 - (2) With Peru as to Lobos islands.
 - (3) With Argentina as to Falkland islands.
 - (4) With Colombia—as to the canal project.
- 4. The Bryan arbitration treaties.

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F. Trade Relations:

1. Origins of trade.
2. Development of trade during the nineteenth century:
 - a. Character and volume of trade, 1800-1850; commercial treaties; navigation of rivers, national and international.
 - b. Maury and the agitation for the opening of the Amazon river system to commerce; agitation successful in 1867; results.
 - c. Decline of commerce of United States with the Hispanic-American states; increased competition of Europe after the Civil War.
 - d. Blaine and reciprocity.
 - e. Curtis' report on trade and transportation between United States and Spanish America.
3. Increase of trade in the twentieth century:
 - a. Cuba in commerce.
 - b. Commercial influences of the Panama Canal.
 - c. Effect of the World War on inter-American trade.
 - d. Increase of interest in United States respecting Hispanic-American trade; study of markets; increased capacity to supply demands for capital; trade facilities in banks and shipping.
 - e. The Webb-Pomerene Act.
 - f. Institutions for trade: War Trade Board, United States Shipping Board, Latin American Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Trade, Commercial Attachés, etc.

4. Hispanic-American purchasing power.
5. Investments by citizens of the United States in Hispanic America:
 - a. Amount of capital invested.
 - b. Character of investments.
 - c. Successful investors; economic imperialism.

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G. Cultural Relations:

1. The slight literary influence.
2. Educational influence of the United States:
 - a. Sarmiento, Varela, Giesecke.
 - b. Educational missions.
 - c. Activities of missionaries in education; mission schools and colleges.
 - d. Hispanic-Americans trained in the United States.
3. Explorations and archaeological expeditions:
 - a. Wilkes, Herndon, Page, Poinsett, Hopkins, Hassaurek, Orton, Willis, Roosevelt, Perkins, Hardenburg, etc.

b. Squier, Bandelier, Stephens, Bingham.

4. Investigations of natural science, ornithology, mammology: Agassiz, Eigemann, Hartt, Haseman, Orton, Chapman, Cherrie, Miller, etc.
5. Exchange of students and college professors.
6. Commemorative celebrations, scientific congresses, international conferences.

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H. Hispanic America and the World War.

1. Early economic and political influences of the European War upon Hispanic America.
2. Hispanic-American products useful in the prosecution of the war.
3. Efforts of propaganda to secure sympathy for one or the other group of belligerents; policies of neutrality; cultural factors in the situation; Germany as a possible menace.

4. Improvement of the financial situation; the financial crises; growth of trade with the United States.
5. Growth of anti-German sentiment in certain countries; Ruy Barbosa's indictment of Germany; the Luxburg and Zimmermann dispatches.
6. Effects of the entrance of the United States into the war.
7. Hispanic America and the war:
 - a. States which declared war: Brazil, Cuba, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama.
 - b. States which served diplomatic relations with the Central Powers: Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Santo Domingo, Uruguay.
 - c. The neutral states: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Salvador, Venezuela.
 - d. Participation of Hispanic-American countries in the war: services of Brazil and Cuba; dispatch of naval and aviation units.
8. Hispanic America at the Peace Conference; action of Brazil, Cuba, and Salvador.
9. Hispanic America and the League of Nations; acceptance of the Covenant of the League; Brazil and Uruguay as members of the Council of the League; Hispanic-American influence and activities in the league Assembly.
10. The Tacna-Arica question in a new phase.
11. The Monroe Doctrine and the War; the doctrine and the Covenant of the League of Nations; the doctrine as a "regional understanding."
12. Projects of an inter-American league of states; plan of President Brum, of Uruguay.
13. Influences, actual and probable, of the war upon inter-American relations.

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Peru; *The (London) Times History of the War*, Vol. XV; Torriente, C. de la, "Cubã, the United States and the League of Nations" (*Int. Conciliation*, Sept., 1922); Wagner, E. R., *L'Allemagne et l'Amérique latine*; Zeballos, E. S., "Gobierno radical; el incidente del Conde Luxburg" (*Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras*, Oct., 1917); ———, *La República Argentina en la liga de las naciones*.

NOTES

X

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, PROBLEMS, AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF HISPANIC-AMERICA

A. Political:

1. Political and governmental stability ; politics in practice and principle ; constitutional tendencies.
2. Modern conventions, platforms, and elections.
3. Restrictions of the ballot ; electoral reform.
4. Professional men in politics.
5. Lack of political experience by the masses.
6. Necessity of developing public interest in politics and political philosophy.
7. Appearance of new political issues.
8. Civil service in Hispanic America.
9. State or church control over education.
10. Municipal government :
 - a. History of progress.
 - b. Public utilities ; fire departments ; police system ; water works ; public sanitation ; municipal ownership.
11. Social legislation.
12. Revolution as a means of political action.

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B. Social and Religious:

I. Social:

1. Population.
 - a. Census statistics available.
 - b. Population and resources.
2. Social types: Spanish; immigrant; Indian, savage and civilized; mixed races; negro.
3. Laboring classes and types: "vaquero"; "roto"; "pelao"; "cholo" "gaucho"; "llanero"; industrial laborers.
4. Labor system and laws:
 - a. Peonage:
 - (1) Feudal status of labor in colonies.
 - (2) Origin of peonage; inheritance of debt.
 - (3) The "inquilino" and "colono."
 - (4) Ignorance, wages, and living conditions.
 - (5) Peon in government and politics.
 - (6) Peonage in Mexico; in South America.
 - b. Labor regulations in general.
 - c. Labor organizations.
 - d. Dearth of labor in certain countries.
 - e. Strikes; radicalism; labor conditions in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico; organized labor; socialist and Bolshevist propaganda.
5. Aristocratic and professional society.

6. Language.
7. Position of woman :
 - a. In society.
 - b. Family life.
 - c. The matter of divorce.
 - d. Woman suffrage in law and politics.
8. Amusements and social customs :
 - a. Sports and games.
 - b. Carnivals and festivals.
 - c. Dress and etiquette.
 - d. Gambling and lotteries.
 - e. Social customs in business.
9. Influence of the Basques in Hispanic America.
10. The Gallegos, Catalonians, Andalusians and other Spanish types in modern Hispanic America.

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II. Religious and Ecclesiastical:

1. Prevalence of the Roman Catholic Church; its work in general; in education and charity.
2. Church and state; control of patronage; the Church in law; relations with the Pope.
3. Clericalism in politics; separation of church and state.
4. Religious toleration in Hispanic America.
5. Activities and problems of Protestant missionaries.
6. Foreign and local opinion of Hispanic-American morality.

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C. Immigration:

1. History of immigration in the nineteenth century:
 - a. Causes of scarcity prior to 1850; colonial exclusion; political instability; greater inducements of the

- United States; economic and transportation conditions.
- b. Movements in certain states designed to foster immigration; ideas of Alberdi and Sarmiento.
 - c. Immigration to Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay.
2. Political and economic effects of immigration; social results.
 3. Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, German, Russian and Polish, English, Oriental, Turkish and Syrian immigration.
 4. Favorite occupations of aliens.
 5. Questions of assimilation and citizenship.

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D. Financial:

1. Monetary systems in Hispanic America:
 - a. Standards and values.
 - b. Paper currency.
 - c. Fluctuations.
2. Capital and banking:
 - a. Number of banks.
 - b. Domestic and foreign control of banking.
 - c. Branch banks:
 - (1) European.
 - (2) United States.
 - d. Scarcity of capital.
3. Hispanic-American finance:
 - a. Credits, exchange, solvency.
 - b. Stock exchanges.
 - c. Bond issues.
 - d. Public debts.
 - e. Sinking funds.
 - f. Insurance.
 - g. Trusts and corporations.
4. Foreign influences upon financial policies.
5. Business enterprises:
 - a. Habits of business.
 - b. Buying and selling; advertising.
6. Tariff systems:
 - a. Tariff for revenue.
 - b. Rates: specific rather than *ad valorem*.
 - c. Variations and complexity.
7. Taxation:
 - a. On personal property.
 - b. On lands and real estate.
 - c. On industries.
 - d. Licenses and concessions.
8. Internal improvements and public works:
 - a. History of internal improvements in Hispanic America.

- b. Public works ; postal service ; parcel post.
- 9. Movements for single, Pan American monetary standard.
- 10. Movement for Pan American, standardized tariff system.

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E. Industrial:

- 1. Mining:
 - a. Areas of ore fields.
 - b. Facilities.
 - c. Acquisition of mining properties.
 - d. Labor supply ; laws regulating labor in mines.
 - e. Gold, silver, diamonds, copper, tin, nitrate, coal, and other mines.

2. Stock-raising:
 - a. Areas adapted.
 - b. Cattle, horse, sheep ranches.
 - c. Stock-yards and slaughter-houses.
 - d. Wool and hides.
3. Rubber:
 - a. Areas of growth.
 - b. Processes employed.
 - c. Labor supply; labor scandals; "black gold"
4. Agriculture:
 - a. Arable lands and climatic conditions.
 - b. Agriculture in connection with stock-raising.
 - c. Ownership of land.
 - d. The agrarian situation in Hispanic America.
 - e. The "haciendas," "fazendas"; the "chacras" and "potreros."
 - f. Agricultural products: coffee, cacao, yerba, food-stuffs.
5. Manufacturing:
 - a. General characteristics: domestic and factory methods.
 - b. Connection with other industries.
 - c. Obstacles in the way.
 - d. Products: foodstuffs, textiles, machinery.
6. European and American capital invested in industries.

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Whelpley, J. D., *Trade Development in Argentina* (Department of Labor and Commerce, *Special Agents Series*, No. 43, 1911).

F. Commercial:

1. History of Hispanic-American commerce.
2. Exports and imports.
 - a. Character and value.
 - b. Destination.
3. Commercial enterprises.
4. Trade marks and their use.
5. Customs regulations.
6. Modern transportation and communication.
 - a. Development of transportation facilities.
 - b. Survival of colonial methods in certain areas.
 - c. Pack trains, stage routes, llama trains
 - d. Roads and highways.
 - e. Land transportation.
 - (1) Railroads: trunk lines; short lines.
 - (2) International and transcontinental lines.
 - (3) Projected lines.
 - (4) Horse cars and trolleys; subways.
 - (5) Mileage and rates.
 - (6) Freight rates.
 - (7) Capital and ownership.
 - f. Water transportation.
 - (1) River steamers and barges.
 - (2) Oceanic lines.
 - (3) Harbor facilities.
 - (4) Rates.
7. Communication:
 - a. Telegraph lines.
 - b. Cable lines.
 - c. Postal service; international service.
8. The metric system of weights and measures.
9. Concessions and monopolies.

- a. Procedure in obtaining them.
- b. Policies of various countries in relation thereto.
- c. Attitude of the United States toward them.

READINGS: *Atlas América-latina*; Babson, R. W., *The Future of Latin America*; Cárcano, R. J., *Historia de los medios de comunicación y transporte en República Argentina*; Collins, J. H., *Straight Business in South America*; Cooper, C. S., *Foreign Trade Markets and Methods*; Costa y Laurent, F., *Reseña histórica de los ferrocarriles del Perú*; Domville-Fife, C. W., *Great States of South America*; Esquivel Obregón, T., *Latin American Commercial Law*; Filsinger, N., *Trading with Latin America*; Gueydan, *Transportation Facilities of Colombia and Venezuela*; Koebel, W. H., *The South Americans*, 304-358; Núñez Olachea, S., *Los ferrocarriles de estado*; Pillardo, R., *Estudio sobre el comercio argentino con las naciones limítrofes*; Powell, F. W., *The Railroads of Mexico*; Roper, D. C., *The Postal Service and the Latin American Trade*, (Sen. Doc., No. 238, 64 Cong., 1st Session); Rutter, F. R., *Tariff Systems of South American Countries* (Bur. of For. and Dom. Com., *Tariff Series*, No. 34); Shepherd, *Latin America*, 168-191; Sheridan, F. J., *Transportation Rates to the West Coast of South America* (Bur. of For. and Dom. Com., *Special Agents Series*, No. 72).

G. Educational and Cultural:

I. Educational:

1. General characteristics.
2. Percentages of illiterates in various countries.
3. Educational progress.
4. Obstacles to popular education.
5. Foreign influences in education:
 - a. European teachers in Hispanic America.
 - b. American teachers in Argentina in 1868; educational reforms of Sarmiento.

- c. Influence of United States at present.
 - 6. Administration of schools.
 - 7. Elementary and secondary education.
 - 8. Higher education in Hispanic America :
 - a. Universities :
 - (1) Faculties, courses, and equipment.
 - (2) Libraries and publications.
 - (3) Students.
 - b. Scientific pursuits :
 - (1) Observatories and other establishments for study of geography, ethnology, and zoology.
 - (2) Schools of medicine and surgery.
 - c. Industrial and technical education.
 - 9. Urban and rural education.
 - 10. Popular interest in education.
 - 11. Non-official efforts for promotion of education :
 - a. Congresses and teachers' associations.
 - b. Private schools and institutions.
 - c. Publications and lectures.
 - 12. Educational reforms needed.
- II. Cultural achievements in general :
- 1. Public charity :
 - a. Control and sources of revenue.
 - b. Societies and institutions for social service.
 - 2. Public libraries.
 - 3. Journalism.
 - a. Status of the press in various countries.
 - b. Notable newspapers.
 - c. Recent development.
 - d. Magazines and periodicals.
 - 4. Literature.
 - a. General characteristics.
 - b. European, and particularly French, influence.
 - c. Representative literary men and their works.
 - (1) Novelists, essayists, poets :

Ricardo Palma, Rodó, Alencar, Goncálvez
Días, Zorrilla de San Martín, Echeverría,
Sarmiento, Rubén Darío, Nervo, Cho-
cano, Blanco Fombona, etc.

(2) Historians:

Alamán, the Amunátegui, Barros Arana,
Genaro García, García Icazbalceta, Vi-
cuña Mackenna, Mitre, José Toribio
Medina, Nabuco, Oliveira Lima, etc.

(3) Jurists:

Alberdi, Bello, Calvo, Vélez Sarsfield, Am-
brosio Montt, etc.

5. Arts:

- a. General characteristics.
- b. Achievements in music; the drama; architecture;
painting; and sculpture.

READINGS: I. For education: Abeille, L., *L'Esprit démocratique de l'enseignement secondaire argentin*; Alvarez, A., *Educación moral*; Amadeo, Tomás, "Agricultural Instruction in Argentina" (*Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, April 1920); Blakeslee, G. H. (ed.), *Latin America*, 30-46, 299-306; Brandon, E. E., *Latin American Universities and Special Schools* (United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, No. 30, 1912); Bravo Mejía, E., *Organización de las escuelas rurales*; Bunge, C. O., *La educación* (3 Vols.); Díaz Covarubbia, J., *La instrucción pública en México*; Eder, P. J., *Colombia*, Ch. XVI; Hirst, W. A., *Argentina*, Ch. XIV; González, J. V., *La Universidad de Córdoba en la cultura argentina*; ———, L. F., "The Intellectual Evolution of Costa Rica" (*Inter-America*, Apr.-June, 1923); Guevara Rojas, F., *El nuevo régimen de la instrucción pública en Venezuela*; Koebel, W. H., *The South Americans*, 109-132; Monroe, Paul, *An Encyclopaedia of Education*, (Consult under name of each country); Shepherd, W. R., *Latin America*, 192-250; ———, "Education in South

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